Born-Again, Morality and Transformation

An Ethnographic Case Study on Pentecostal Conceptualisation of Corruption

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An Ethnographic Case Study on Pentecostal Conceptualisation of Corruption

WEDERGEBOREN, MORALITEIT EN TRANSFORMATIE

Een etnografische onderzoek naar een Pentecostale conceptualisering van corruptie

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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For my family:

Chishala, Kudakwashe and Kupakwashe

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

[…]	indicates that a word, sentence, or a section from a text has been intentionally omitted without altering the original meaning of the text.
ACC	(Zambia) Anti-Corruption Commission
AIC(s)	African Independent/Initiated/Instituted Church(es)
AOG	Assemblies of God
ARDA	Association of Religion Data Archives
BLCI	Bread of Life Church International
CMML	Christian Mission in Many Lands
CSO	(Republic of Zambia) Central Statistical Office
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
GMMI	Grace Mission Ministries International
KCC	Kitwe City Council
Kitwe-BLCI	Kitwe central church–Bread of Life Church International
Kwacha-PAOG	Kwacha church– Pentecostal Assemblies of God
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NAC	New Apostolic Church
NAZ	(Republic of Zambia) National Assembly of Zambia
Ndola-BLCI	Ndola central church–Bread of Life Church International
NRSV	(Bible) *New Revised Standard Version* (New York: American Bible Society, 2011)
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PAOG-Z	Pentecostal Assemblies of God–Zambia
RCZ	Reformed Church in Zambia
TCU	Trans-Africa Christian University
TI	Transparency International
TIZ	Transparency International, Zambia
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN-Habitat	The United Nations Human Settlements Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US(A)	United States (of America)

Figure 1: A Map of Zambia, copyright © 2006 by Scott D. Taylor

Figure 2: A Map of Kitwe, copyright © 2010 by Google – Map

Acknowledgements

If the only prayer you say in your whole life is 'thank you', that would suffice.
(Johannes Eckhart [1260-1327]; quoted in Ross 2010:154)

Finally, this amazing journey has come to an end. Despite being a valuable experience, this journey had its unforgettable and definable moments. Apart from having many "aha" moments during the study, I had several false starts and got stumped for several months. By the grace of God, I was kept on track, encouraged and reinvigorated by countless individuals and communities. Let me name some who contributed in many ways to the success of this study and made this journey the most inspiring adventure in my life.

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as enriching to engage with you on the corruption discourse within Pentecostalism. I hope I have been able to do you justice.

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B. Muchemwa
College of the Transfiguration
Makhanda (Grahamstown)
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1. Introduction

> Ghana had increasingly become a Christian country [...]. Yet, why was it still filled with problems of corruption and other moral and social dilemmas? (Daswani 2015:60)

Today, the African Christian landscape is arguably the fastest growing and most active religious market in the world. The continent's burgeoning galaxy of Pentecostal and charismatic churches are now dictating the religious tempo of African Christian life. Pentecostal and charismatic churches today occupy every inch of African urban space and dominate satellite television channels with lengthy high-energy worship services. The colourful evangelistic posters and billboards dotting every street corner and car-bumper stickers touting miracles and prosperity indicate the all-pervasive presence of this variety of Christianity in the lives of African Christians today. This dynamic, and highly complex, religious landscape has now become a battleground for miracles, breakthroughs, and spiritual conflagrations. However, like what Girish Daswani says in the above quote, this proliferation of Spirit-filled churches, in some contexts, has also seen a commensurate increase in corruption and other social ills.

This study examines the coterminity of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity with corrupt behaviour. The study is based upon the experiences of forty participants in Kitwe, Zambia recruited from two Pentecostal churches as it explores their perceptions of the problem of corruption. The churches in question are *Pentecostal Assemblies of God-Zambia* (PAOG-Z) church in Kwacha township (henceforth, Kwacha-PAOG) and *Bread of Life Church International* (BLCI) church in Kitwe central (henceforth, Kitwe-BLCI). The former is a classical Pentecostal church while the latter is a Zambian initiated/instituted Pentecostal and charismatic church. This chapter aims at making the reader understand the purpose (§1.1.2 and §1.2), the context (§1.1.1) and the theoretical and theological frameworks of the study (§1.3 and §1.4).

1.1 Background of the Study

In Zambia, just like in any other sub-Saharan African country, corruption is an endemic and enduring problem. According to the annual reports of Zambia's Auditor General's Office,

millions of dollars (or billions of kwacha[1]) are unaccounted for every year in different government ministries and parastatals (state-owned enterprises). Revelations like these are no longer unusual in a country where a high-level tolerance of corrupt behaviour, by both citizens and public officials, seems to be deeply entrenched in the society. Corrupt activities like bribery and extortion have now become outstanding features and integral elements of everyday existence and transactions. Tresphore Mutale (2008:17), a Zambian Catholic priest, rightly pointed out that the culture of corruption is prevalent in every sector of the Zambian society. Some cultural norms and values covary with corruption making the phenomenon a 'part of the state system and social life of the people […] found in both daily ordinary and personal lives of citizens and public structures and even in private institutions […] seen as part of the way of life for many Zambians' (Mutale 2008:17,29; *see* Taylor 2006:183; Bayart, Ellis and Hibou 1999:30; *see* also the discussion in §3.2.2).

This study was done on Zambia's Copperbelt province (on the study context, *see* §1.1.1) where Bemba is the *lingua franca* (*see* Note 1). One of the Bemba words that are usually translated as corruption is *ubufufuntungu*. The word refers to anything from crookedness, rottenness, deceitfulness to mere dishonesty. In other words, the term simply refers to the debasement of moral values and ethical principles. However, this study is not about the debasement of moral character in general, but a specific form of corruption that undermines societal and institutional ethical values variously referred to as *ukulilapo*, *nchekelako*, *ubomba mwibala alya mwibala*, or simply *ukubosha*. According to Joe Kapolyo (2005:100), '*ukulilapo* […] is a Bemba word derived from the word *ukulya* (to eat). The word implies that in every situation it is my duty to exploit the circumstances to my personal (and by extension my extended family's) advantage'.

Nchekelako is a Chewa word that means 'to cut a piece for me in return for a favour' and its Bemba equivalent is *ndekulishamo* (Macwan'gi, Matakala and Milapo 2017:50). *Ukubosha* was a traditional Bemba custom that required a person visiting a headman or chief to leave something as a way of showing honour and respect and had nothing to do with bribery (2017:50). *Ubomba mwibala alya mwibala* is a Bemba idiom that is translated as 'you eat where you work'. 'This idiom', says Mubiana Macwan'gi and colleagues (2017:50), 'was used to underline the fact that workers will benefit from the fruits of their hard work, or that those who work hard will be rewarded'. Although these terms reflect positive norms and values that

1 The Kwacha is the currency of Zambia and Malawi. The word *kwacha* is a Bemba and Chewa name that means 'dawn', probably a reference to the 'dawn' of independence. Icibemba or ChiBemba (or simply 'Bemba' in English) is a Bantu language that is spoken by nearly a quarter of Zambia's population. Bemba is spoken in Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces. This language is also used in education throughout these provinces. Bemba is also spoken in some parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), mainly in the Shaba region. What struck me about Bemba is that it is a very respectful language with the prefix *ba* being used to show respect. One's father is referred to as '*batata*' and mother as '*bamayo*.'

supported the traditional kinship system, in modern usage they reflect the emergence of new value systems that seem to fuel corrupt activities (2017:50).

According to a study by *Transparency International, Zambia* (TIZ) (2005a:8,32), most of the people in Zambia (about sixty-one per cent) associate corruption with bribery, with about twenty-seven per cent linking corruption with extortion or fraud, two per cent with plunder and nine per cent with nepotism. TIZ (2005a:12) also discovered that almost eighty per cent of the participants found it nearly impossible to access basic services in urban Zambia (like piped water, health care and even getting children in school) without paying *nchekelako*. The fact that corruption seems to be a big problem in Zambia is also confirmed by studies done by political scientists Wonbin Cho and Matthew Kirwin (2007). They discovered that many people experienced corruption in at least one of the following situations (a) getting a document or a permit, (b) getting a child in school, (c) getting a household service, (d) getting medicine or medical attention and, (e) avoiding a problem with the police.

Another study carried out by Emmanuel Lavallee and colleagues (2008) seems to confirm these results. According to them (Lavallee, Razafindrakoto and Rouboud 2008:5–6), about twenty-five per cent of Zambians reported that they had to pay *nchekelako* at least once a year. Over the years, the picture has not changed much. A recent TIZ and *Anti-Corruption Commission* (ACC) (2017:1) survey shows that:

> Incidence of bribery in terms of bribe demand or solicitation by public officers has increased from 35.1% in 2014 […] to 43.7% in 2017. Prevalence of bribery in 2017 is 80.7% compared to 57.1% in 2014. Bribe size of more than 500 Kwacha [about $50] has increased from 27.2% respondents affected in 2014, to 66.8% in 2017. And severity, in particular service denial and unnecessary delay of service provision, has increased from 85.3% in 2014 to 97.6% in 2017.

This background provides the context for this study. Corruption is now deep rooted in Zambia, especially in the urban areas where it is becoming an accepted component of every transaction (Taylor 2006:183). There are four outstanding factors from these studies. Firstly, although Zambians perceive corruption as immoral and condemnable, most of them do not want to admit their involvement in corrupt activities (Lemba 2008:12; Lavallee, Razafindrakoto and Rouboud 2008:12–14). Secondly, most Zambians seem to justify the high incidences of corruption among public officials, attributing the problem to poverty, low salaries, unemployment, weak anti-corruption measures, and lack of seriousness on the part of the government (Lemba 2005:12; TIZ/ACC 2017:53). Consequently, with the rapidly increasing levels of poverty and unemployment in Zambia, people do not see the end of corruption. Thirdly, most Zambians seem to be pessimistic that corruption could be curtailed or completely eradicated from society (*The Post*, 18/11/2007). The last factor is the effect of corruption on the poor and the low-income earners. Studies have shown that bribes take up almost a quarter of the income of poor people (TIZ 2010).

Since independence in 1964, Zambia has established several anti-corruption investigative bodies, but most of them were or are focused on political opponents, former political leaders and settling political scores. Most of these bodies were created only after a public outcry over the massive looting of public resources and pressure from international donors on the need for transparency and accountability. In Zambia, the anti-corruption bodies are not independent because the country's president, backed by the ruling party, practically defines what corruption is and decides who is prosecuted for the crime. In that sense, as some critics have pointed out, the anti-corruption policy is not owned by parliament but by the executive (TIZ/*United Nations* [UN] 2012:10–11). Again, these bodies do not seem to have prevention and education programmes apart from investigating suspected corruption cases. In addition to that, the existing constitutional and legal frameworks do not accord these bodies full investigatory and prosecutorial powers (Kpundeh 2004:276–7; Doig, Watt and Williams 2005:80; TIZ 2005b:49; Mutesa 2005:17).

According to some social scientists, anti-corruption laws and agencies in themselves are ineffective in combatting corruption if there is no political will to enforce existing statutes and to prosecute corrupt officials (Mulinge and Lesetedi 2002:68). For example, in Zambia, corruption has been fought largely through the penal law. However, this approach is like a harvester that only deals with what is above the surface. It is ineffective if corrupt practices have not been exposed and when there are no complaints. From the time of independence, successive governments, beginning with the Kenneth Kaunda administration (Kaunda was president of Zambia from 1964 to 2001), have created several strategies to deal with the problem of corruption with varying degrees of success (Hussmann and Chikalanga 2007:203–31; Kpundeh 2004:257–82; Doig, Watt and Williams 2005; TIZ 2003; Goredema 2002:22–39). The argument here is that the fight against corruption is a quest for public ethics and integrity and, therefore, the investigatory and prosecutorial instruments seem to have failed to produce the desired results. If corruption is an ethical and integrity problem, what is the most appropriate instrument/institution to deal with it?

Over the centuries, religious beliefs and teachings have legitimised contentious moral and ethical systems on which many societies are anchored (*see* Gräb and Charbonnier 2014; Smidt 2003; Candland 2000). In many societies today, there is no doubt that faith communities play a pivotal role in shaping the lives of the people, both positively and negatively. Recent studies have shown that religions contribute to positive socio- and politico-economic transformation of communities (Norenzayan and Shariff 2008; Norenzayan 2013; Yilmaz and Bahcekpili 2015). In Zambia, Christianity is the most powerful, influential and active field, apart from politics, and one that provides one of the most popular and dynamic social networks. Although reliable statistics are hard to come by, it is estimated that, Christians make up about eighty-five per cent of the country's population (*Central Statistical Office* [CSO] 2012:19; *Association of Religion Data Archives* 2015) of which about ten to twenty per cent of that are Pentecostal and charismatic Christians (*Pew Forum* 2006; Kalu 2008:5). Paradoxically, the increase in the number of professed born-again Christians has not been complemented by the moral revitalisation of society. For instance, in 2008, the *Christian Council of Zambia* (CCZ)

expressed concern over the high levels of corruption in Zambia even though nearly eighty-five per cent of the population claim to be Christian (Sakala 2008).

1.1.1 The Context of the Study

Zambia is a land-locked southern African country with a population of about thirteen million, of which sixty-one per cent is rural and thirty-nine per cent urban (CSO 2012:15–18). The country is divided into ten provinces, namely, Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Muchinga, Northern, Northwestern, Southern and Western. The Copperbelt province is a mineral-rich region in north-central Zambia boasting of some of the richest sources of copper in the world. It is made up of three cities (Kitwe, Mufulira and Ndola) and four towns (Chililabombwe, Chingola, Kalulushi and Luanshya). The study setting was the city of Kitwe. Founded in 1936, Kitwe is the second largest city in Zambia and the largest on the Copperbelt Province followed by the provincial capital Ndola. The city of Kitwe 'was originally called Nkana after the local chiefdom and derived its name from the then "Citwe" (now known as Kitwe) Stream. The name Kitwe depicts the skull of an elephant (icitwe chansofu) which was found alongside copper ore deposits. Foreign settlers could not pronounce the name "Icitwe" as the natives used to call it and pronounced the name as "Kitwe"' (*Kitwe City Council* [KCC] 2011:6).

The 2010 Zambian census puts the total population of the Copperbelt province at about two million with Kitwe having the largest percentage of about five-hundred thousand people. The population growth rate for Kitwe district is about three per cent, but Kitwe's population is relatively young with about sixty per cent of the population below the age of twenty-five (KCC 2011:7; *The United Nations Human Settlements Programme* [UN-Habitat] 2009 and 2012:13). According to Nicholas Wilson (2010:4), 'in [the] Copperbelt Province […] 8.9 per cent of employment is in mining and quarrying. Not only are ten of the eleven aforementioned large-scale mines located in Copperbelt Province, but eighty-two per cent of employees in mining and quarrying reside in Copperbelt Province'. In Kitwe alone, the mining industry employs about fifty-one per cent of those in formal employment with the remaining forty-nine per cent in government and private sector employment (UN-Habitat 2009).

The political economy of Zambia during the colonial era cannot be ignored in any discussion on poverty and corruption in Zambia. Poverty and corruption, in some contexts, have historical roots or antecedents. For instance, Munyae Mulinge and Gwen Lesetedi (1998:15) opined, 'the incidence of corruption could be best understood in the context of colonialism - its systematic use of material inducements to compel African chiefs/administrators to collaborate with them in the pursuit of their colonial project of dominating and exploiting their own peoples'. After carrying out a study on the relationship between 'types of colonial experience' and 'present-day corruption levels', Luis Angeles and Kyriakos Neanidisy

(2010:18) also notes that, 'The link between European settlement and corruption works through the formation of local elites, their power and attitudes. More powerful elites are able to enter in acts of corruption with impunity and the ethnic differences between them and the rest of the population make a concern for the other's well-being all too unlikely'.

As a geographical unit, Northern Rhodesia (as Zambia was known before independence) was created by the European partition of Africa in the late nineteenth century (Roberts 1976:149). The British interests in the land north of the Zambezi came because of missionary expeditions in the mid-nineteenth century (1976:149; Simson 1985:7). Cecil John Rhodes' *British South African Company* ruled the territory from 1895 to 1924 and then it was handed over to the British Colonial Office in April 1924 (Smaldone 1979:24–6; Roberts 1976:175–86; Gann 1964:156–80; Hall 1965:34–53 and 1976:35–107; Kay 1967:15–6). According to Andrew Roberts (1976:190), at independence, Zambia inherited a 'lop-sided economy'. The lifeline and backbone of the economy was copper from what is now known as the Copperbelt province. The Copperbelt was the centre and source of development in Northern Rhodesia. A large chunk of revenue from copper exports was channelled onto the Copperbelt at the expense of other regions of the country (1976:183,192–3). As a result, there was very little development in regions away from the Copperbelt and none in the rural areas where most Africans lived. In other words, the Copperbelt became an island surrounded by massive rural poverty as development was only concentrated around the rail line (1976:190–2).

However, due to good copper prices in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Zambia registered remarkable economic growth so much that, at independence, she was one of the most prosperous countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Saasa and Carlson 2002:24). The situation changed drastically in the mid-1970s when the economic performance of the country took a nosedive due to poor copper prices, the rise of oil prices and failure to diversify its economy (Kalinda and Floro 1992:8–12). Several reforms were initiated but they failed to resuscitate the economy. This resulted in a serious decline in trade and the country went into a deep recession in the late 1980s.

Despite the recent positive changes in attempting to stabilise the economy, Zambia's economy remains one of the most vulnerable economies in sub-Saharan Africa. In recent years, there had been a rapid decline in the country's economic growth because of the instability of the international copper market, systemic corruption, and economic mismanagement within the Zambian government. This has led, among other problems, to the rapid rise in unemployment and poverty levels in the country.

1.1.2 The Purpose of the Study

It is important to point out from the beginning that when this research was started, I intended to investigate institutional corruption within Pentecostal and charismatic churches in

Zambia. After many twists and turns, I finally decided to examine how Pentecostal and charismatic Christians engage with the problem of corruption (the type that debases societal and institutional ethical values) through an ethnographic study of two Pentecostal churches in Kitwe (*see* §2.4). From the beginning, I was convinced that the area of corruption has been completely neglected in Pentecostal and charismatic studies. After observing, reading and reflecting on Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in Zambia, the study was designed with the specific intention of examining

1. how Pentecostal spirituality affects the believers' conception of corruption; and
2. how this conception contributes to the moral formation of society.

In other words, what the study examines is the possible relationship or correlation between Pentecostal spirituality and the believers' perception of corrupt activities. The study goes beyond just a simple description or representation of the believers' views on corruption by exploring how the churches' ethical values relate to the discourse[2] on corruption. Here the focus is on how the churches are conceptualising corruption and how the members are engaging with this conceptualisation. I believe that the complex relationship between Pentecostal life and un/ethical behaviour raises some important questions that demanded critical analysis and examination. Hence, this study sets out to address the following questions:

1. What effect does Pentecostal spirituality have on the believer's conception of corruption in public life; and
2. In what way does this relate to the creation and building of strong ethical values?

1.2 Motivations for this Study

The purpose of this section is to answer the question (a) why this study, and (b) why now? To answer the first part of the question, it is important to state that in sub-Saharan Africa today, Pentecostal Christianity in all its forms, shapes and its charismatic variations, presently constitute a major social and religious movement that continues to affect millions of citizens in various ways. As noted earlier, in Zambia, Pentecostal and charismatic Christians dominate the print, electronic and social media with their ecstatic activities like healing and miracle services, breakthrough programmes and others (Chinonge 2015:24; Cheyeka 2008:153). Furthermore, Pentecostal and charismatic movements constitute an important part of the socio-cultural lives of the Zambian people whose lives largely revolve around the claims of supernatural involvements in human life.

2 In this study, discourse is defined, in the words of Sandra Schneiders (2005a:6), as 'an on-going conversation about a common interest'.

This study notes that over the past two decades, Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia have increasingly come under the heavy influence of the globalised and dominant spiritualities of North American (and later West African) evangelical movements. This relationship has resulted in the emergence of a prosperity-oriented Christian trend that seems to offer avenues and alternatives to redress the socio-economic threats that people experience daily and consider as reality.

Sometimes known as the 'Word of Faith' or the 'health and wealth' movement, the prosperity gospel teaches that having a relationship with God can result in success and good health (for a thorough discussion on this theme, *see* §3.4.1). The deepening and widening socio-economic disorganisation and disparities characterising many sub-Saharan African societies today seem to have made this 'gospel' attractive to the young who are searching for socio-economic breakthrough. Like what Abbebe Kileyesus (2006:79) wrote, 'The empirical literature shows that Pentecostalism exerts a magnetic attraction to individuals who seek social and economic mobility and wish to be independent and successful' (*see also* Onoja 2009:263–66). The creation of born-again or 'saved' networks seem to have enabled the individual believer to negotiate, interpret and cope with these social-economic challenges (Smith 2001; Robbins 2001; Welch, Sikkink, Sartain et al. 2004; Wuthnow 2002; Kileyesus 2006).

Since every coin has two sides, some people have dismissed the prosperity gospel as a mere moneymaking scheme and a fast wealth building strategy promoted by neo-liberal capitalism. By teaching that wealth and affluence are a right of those who are born-again, some scholars have argued that prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism is not just an anti-modernity movement but also a product of modernity and capitalism (*see* Meyer 2004:448–59; Maxwell 1998:360). Joel Robbins (2001:902), an American anthropologist, calls this Christian trend a 'culture of modernity' since it offers the believers a global identity they cannot acquire through African independent/initiated/instituted Churches (AICs). One major criticism of the prosperity gospel is that it fuels greed through the continuous emphasis on reaping bigger and bigger rewards (Chilenje 2014:15; Hood 2004:49; this aspect shall be dealt with later in §6.3.1). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Pentecostal and charismatic movements have enormous potential to influence and shape ethical conduct and behaviour in the public sphere. Therefore, there is a need to gauge the ethical influence of Pentecostal spirituality and locate its role in Zambia's fight against corruption, a problem that is threatening to wipe out, and is already gnawing at, the socio-economic gains accrued in the past five decades.

Why examine this problem now? The study was motivated by the Frederick Chiluba (1943–2011) corruption trials that were taking place in July 2008, the time I came to Zambia (from my homeland, Zimbabwe). In November 1991, Chiluba, fronting the *Movement for Multiparty Democracy* (MMD), defeated Kaunda's *United National Independence Party* (UNIP) in an election that reintroduced multi-party democracy in Zambia. When he was president from 1991 to 2001, Chiluba is believed to have embezzled and misappropriated millions of dollars for his benefit and the benefit of his minions (Taylor 2006:286; Van Donge 2008a:75–85; Ihonvbere 1996:187; TIZ 2005b:57–67). Again, according to critics, during

Chiluba's era, corruption reached proportional levels to such an extent that it almost became a state policy. As a result, Chiluba and his friends were reported to have stolen more in five years than Kaunda did in twenty-seven years (Taylor 2006:286–89).[3]

After failing to get public support for his third term presidential run, Chiluba handpicked Levy Mwanawasa (1948–2008) to contest the 2001 presidential elections under the MMD ticket (Mthembu-Salter 2002:1144–47; Ikpe 2009:304–5). In December 2001, Mwanawasa won the elections with a slight margin. However, massive rigging and the unevenness of the political playing field reportedly characterised the elections themselves (Van Donge 2008b:296–317; Dickovick 2012:325). Soon after Mwanawasa's election in January 2002, some members of parliament and the independent *Post* newspapers revealed massive theft of money in Zambia's bank accounts in London, leading to a public outcry (*The Post*, 15/7/2002 and 17/7/2002). Facing an opposition majority in parliament and dwindling donor confidence, Mwanawasa bluntly declared a zero tolerance on corruption (Kpundeh 2004:277; Phiri 2011). In July 2002, Mwanawasa made a dramatic address before the *National Assembly of Zambia* (NAZ), exposing what he said was Chiluba's 'matrix of corruption' and urging the removal of his predecessor's immunity from prosecution. Soon afterwards, the NAZ unanimously voted to lift Chiluba's immunity (Kpundeh 2004:277). In February 2003, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of NAZ and, on 24 February 2003, Chiluba was arrested and charged with corruption and plunder (2004:277; TIZ 2007:8).

3 It is important to point out here that this research project started during the Chiluba corruption investigations, and thus the characterisation of Chiluba as more corrupt than Kaunda is context-dependent. In Zambia today, there is a section of the society that believes that the Chiluba corruption accusations and the subsequent Mwanawasa anti-corruption crusade were simply a façade and cheap publicity-driven campaign. According to public opinion, the thuggery, open and shameless looting or plunder characterising some post-Chiluba administrations have eclipsed what Chiluba was accused of stealing. For instance, Chiluba's former press aide, Richard Sakala, who was sentenced to four years in jail by Mwanawasa for corruption, has persistently argued that Chiluba's corruption was a myth. In his 2009, book *Mockery of Justice: Rule Without Law Legacy, 2001-2008*, Sakala pointed out that the anti-corruption crusade was orchestrated by Western donors, Zambian legal and media practitioners who arm-twisted Mwanawasa to front the project in exchange for political and economic favours. In the same book, Sakala also detailed the legal flaws of the anti-corruption commission (*Task Force on Corruption*) which, in his opinion, were never challenged and, ultimately, affected the administration of justice. These views are reinforced in his second book *A President Betrayed: Serial Murder By Slander* where he (Sakala 2016: back cover) wrote that, 'In one of the most shocking conspiracies to assassinate the character of a former African Head of State and prosecute him for crimes he did not commit, a motley of Zambian politicians and partisan media weaved a tale of fiction and deception that saw Chiluba stripped of his presidential immunity, persecuted and made to endure a life of loneliness, shame and suffering'. While some have dismissed Sakala's story as unreliable assertions of a bitter ex-convict, others (like Ntomba 2016:98) feel that his version of events 'offers an insight into the behind-the-scenes intrigue and feuds in the highly acclaimed fight against corruption'.

Following the sudden death of Mwanawasa in August 2008, Rupiah Banda (Mwanawasa's deputy) was elected as Zambia's fourth president in October the same year. During his tenure as president (from 2008 to 2011), Banda was repeatedly criticised, by both local and foreign analysts, for lacking the political will to fight corruption at the highest level. Chiluba's acquittal in August 2009 is mentioned as a typical example of Banda's lack of commitment to the fight against corruption (*US Department of State* 2010:20; Simutanyi 2010). According to some critics, Banda was more inclined to protect Chiluba and create a political alliance and, according to the *Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index* (2018), 'This reflects a broader pattern of using corruption allegations to attack political opponents, while protecting others as a means of building political alliances'. Banda, like Chiluba, is also widely believed to have run a corrupt administration that awarded top government positions and lucrative contracts to people connected to State House and the ruling party (TIZ 2010). As a result, most Zambians believe that his defeat to Michael Sata of the *Patriotic Front* (PF) in the September 2011 elections was a vote against corruption that bedevilled Banda's administration.

I came to Zambia just a month before Mwanawasa's death. Three years earlier, the international community had rewarded Mwanawasa with nearly four-billion-dollar debt relief package for his anti-corruption crusade and austerity measures (Dickovick 2012:326). During this period, public attention was focused on the court trials of the former government, ruling party and security officials who were being accused of theft and abuse of public office and resources. The list included permanent secretaries, a director of a local bank, a chief justice and former commanders of the National Service, Airforce and the Army (Kpundeh 2004:277; Taylor 2006:286; TIZ/UN 2012:8–10). One of the victims of this crusade was Chiluba, an avowed and self-proclaimed born-again Christian. As Dickovick (2012:326) wrote:

> Mwanawasa gained popularity as president for a vigorous anticorruption campaign that even netted his former benefactor: ex-president Chiluba. The task force identified office buildings and houses that Chiluba and other officials owned in Britain, Belgium and other countries and announced it planned to seize those believed to have been purchased with state funds. Because public monies had been used to acquire assets in Britain, Zambia's attorney general lodged a civil suit against Chiluba and four of his associates in London High Court. In May 2007, the judge found that Chiluba and company had conspired to misappropriate around $46 million from Zambia's coffers to purchase property and luxury items ranging from motorcycles to jewellery.

While the corruption trials exposed Chiluba to legal scrutiny, in the court of public opinion he was subjected to moral inspection since his born-again Christian faith could not prevent him from engaging in corruption and plunder. I noticed that the stories about Chiluba's alleged involvement in corrupt activities and plunder of public resources seem to have dented the public perception of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in Zambia (A number of scholars have examined the Chiluba corruption scandals in-depth: Rakner 2003; Ihonvbere

1996 and 2002; Mthembu-Salter 2002; Taylor 2006; Van Donge 2009; Phiri 2003; Gifford 1998a). The public perception was that born-again Christianity was simply a charade and that Pentecostals and charismatics (or *BaPente* in Bemba language)[4] did not seem to have a normative framework of ethical behaviour. Consequently, what was being questioned was not only Chiluba's faith but also the weight given to issues of public ethics and integrity within Pentecostal and charismatic movements.

It was during this period that I began to pay serious attention to Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. I came from a theological tradition that stressed that something spiritual could only occur through the sacraments and that there is a connection between an outward act and the internal presence of the Holy Spirit (henceforth, the Spirit). Armed with such a background, I did not consider Pentecostal beliefs and practices as worthy of attention and study. As I began to pay attention to Pentecostalism, I also became aware of the impact of Pentecostal and charismatic movements on Zambian Christianity as a whole. Most of the people I met in Lusaka (the capital city of Zambia), where I was living before relocating to Kitwe in early 2009, were claiming to be Pentecostals, charismatics or had been exposed, in one way or another, to some elements of Pentecostalism. This new vibrant 'Spirit-driven' Christianity was emerging and occupying every available space in people's personal and socio-economic lives.

In Zambia, 'favour' or blessing (*bupaalo* in Bemba) is the catchword of this new 'Spirit-driven' Christian trend, a concept that encapsulates its spirituality and what the people are yearning for. With the problem of corruption increasingly becoming one of Zambia's biggest social challenges besides human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS), social discussions began focusing on this new Christianity and its possible role in either mitigating or aggravating the effects of this scourge. Leaders of some of the new Pentecostal and charismatic churches seemed to have added fuel to these discourses by their ostentatious lifestyles and stately edifices of worship. Because of this, for some people, Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity appears to be a religious aberration that is divorced from the dire social needs of the people (O'Neil 2003:5; Cox 1996:83; Kärkkäinen 2001:387–404). Others have pointed out that most Pentecostals, because of their strong eschatological orientation and evangelical thrust, consider social involvement as something peripheral (Saayman 1993:51; Dempster 1993:59; Lossky, Bonino, Pobee et al. 2002:901; Burgess 2006:440).

This perceived lack of a sound Pentecostal ethical framework, in my opinion, is the reason why the relationship between Pentecostalism and the problem of corruption warrants critical attention.

4 *BaPente* is a conventional and a respectful Bemba way of referring to Pentecostals and charismatics in general (*see* Note 1).

1.3 Theoretical Perspective

The study is centred on the impact of Pentecostal spirituality on the believers' conception of corruption. Just like the concept of 'religion', spirituality and Pentecostalism resist any attempt to construct a universal definition. Although most of the believers claim to understand these phenomena, there is no agreement on what it means to be 'spiritual' or 'Pentecostal'. For the sake of clarity and brevity, this section shall not examine these concepts in-depth because there is abundant literature that has adequately handled them. The focus of the section is to: (a) define spirituality and Pentecostalism as they are understood in the context of this study (§1.3.2) and, (b) argue that Pentecostalism is, historically and existentially, a form of spirituality and a holiness movement that has the 'Pentecostal power' to do the right thing (§1.3.3).

1.3.1 Defining Pentecostalism

Walter Hollenweger (1997:1) posits three forms of global Pentecostalism, namely, classical Pentecostalism, the charismatic movement, and 'Pentecostal-like' independent churches. In line with Hollenweger's forms, C. Peter Wagner (1988) classified global Pentecostalism into three 'Waves' of evangelicalism. According to Wagner (cited in Anderson 2010:23), the 'First Wave' was the early twentieth century Azusa revival (classical Pentecostalism) and the 'Second Wave' was the mid twentieth century charismatic movement. The 'Third Wave', which was a late twentieth century movement, was neither Pentecostal nor charismatic but simply an emphasis on the experiences of the Spirit. Allan Anderson (2010:19) classifies this last group as neo-Pentecostal and neo-charismatic churches comprising of Word of Faith and new Apostolic churches.

The question that arises from the above schema is whether this categorisation is normative of global Pentecostalism.[5] One of the questions that dominate modern Pentecostal and charismatic studies is: how would one identify a church as 'Pentecostal' or 'charismatic'? This question is important because, as Anderson (2010:12) points out, 'many classical Pentecostals do not feel comfortable with the broad classification'. Pentecostal theologians William and Robert Menzies (2000:47–8) point out that today it is easy to confuse 'Pentecostals' with the

5 Other scholars have developed different ways of classifying Pentecostalism. For example, Tony Balcomb (2007:31) has divided Pentecostals into classical, neo-charismatics, community-based and mega-church. William Kay and Anne Dyer (2004:25–8) came up with five groups of Pentecostals, namely, classical, indigenous Pentecostals, independent neo-Pentecostals, the charismatic renewal movement and proto-charismatic movement. It must be noted here that Anderson (2004:13) is critical of the three-fold narrative that Pentecostal growth followed these three stages. He argues that many Pentecostal and charismatic movements around the world do not easily fit into this three-fold classification. Nevertheless, despite the dangers of what he calls reductionism, he regards this classification as 'a useful starting-point'.

'Third Wavers' who are simply evangelicals open to the Spirit (*see also* Anderson 2010:158).[6] Another question that comes into play is whether one can be 'charismatic' without being 'Pentecostal'. The Finnish Lutheran theologian Anssi Simojoki (2002:273) argues that being 'charismatic' does not necessarily mean being 'Pentecostal' or the other way around. It is possible for one to be an 'orthodox and confessional' Catholic or Anglican and be 'charismatic' at the same time. He (Simojoki 2002:273) points out that since there is no proper definition of what it means to be 'charismatic', it is 'more helpful to use the term "Neo-Pentecostalism" in preference to "Charismatic"'. According to him (Simojoki 2002:273), one should be careful in the use of the term 'charismatic'.

In Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship, the term 'charismatic' traditionally refers to members of the historic or mainline churches who do not follow the traditional teachings and practices (Anderson 2010:144; *see also* MacArthur 1978:13; Kay and Dyer 2004:xxii; Miller and Yamamori 2007:18). Here the charismatic movement is sometimes seen as an extension (a 'Second Wave') of the North American Pentecostal movement that began at the Azusa revival. The justification of this characterisation is that both movements share the same theological foundation, namely, baptism in the Spirit (henceforth, Spirit-baptism), speaking in tongues (henceforth, tongues-speaking), and moral disposition (Nogueira-Godsey 2012:95). However, not every Pentecostal and charismatic scholar accept this link at face value. According to Stephen Hunt (2010:184) and David Harrell (1975:137), glaring socio-economic and doctrinal differences between the Pentecostal and charismatic expressions mean that the latter is a unique religious expression. Anderson (2004:14) further points out that there are problems with defining being 'charismatic' in the context of mainline churches because 'there are several examples of 'charismatics' who preceded the 'Charismatic Movement' in the western world by several decades' (Anderson 2004:14).

Although modern Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship separates Pentecostals from charismatics (with the former being further divided into classical Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals), as a matter of convenience, the study will refer to all believers who are recognised mainly by a heightened experience (or who emphasise the working of the gifts) of the Spirit, both phenomenologically and theologically, as 'Pentecostals/charismatics' (*BaPente*) (Anderson 2004:13). This is an inclusive definition that embraces AICs (*see* Asamoagh-Gyagu 2005; Anderson 2004:103–22,159–62 and 2005:29; Larbi 2002; Kalu 2008). This is how the 'Spirit-filled' believers understand themselves on the Copperbelt and the term does not distinguish between classical, neo-Pentecostals or 'Third Wavers'. Like what Karen Lauterbach (2008:85) says, 'The term neo-Pentecostal is an appellation for a trend, rather than an expression of how the churches define themselves'.

6 Adriano Chalwe (2008:136), a bishop of PAOG-Z, says that because of the 'Third Wavers' who have adopted Pentecostal theology and practice, it is necessary today for Pentecostals to reinterpret their beliefs and practices and redefine their distinctiveness.

For academic arguments, however, the study will use the term 'new Pentecostal' churches in cases where there is a specific reference to the new movements that were given birth in the mid-1980s and 1990s. According to Johnson Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2010:61), in Africa, these churches 'go by different designations such as 'born-again churches,' 'charismatic churches' or 'prosperity churches''. However, the study sometimes refers to 'charismatic' movements/Christianity because (in the words of Anderson 2004:1) 'we must sometimes distinguish between denominational or 'classical' Pentecostalism on the one hand, and those other movements like Charismatic movements within the older churches, autochthonous prophetic churches in the Majority World and the neocharismatic independent churches on the other'. The study also notes that the new Pentecostals have a unique way of understanding the work and gifts of the Spirit and this separates them from classical Pentecostals. Like what Paul Gifford (2004:26) noticed in Ghanaian Pentecostalism, depending on their spiritual and theological emphases, new Pentecostals can be categorised into prosperity/success-oriented, teaching/prayer-oriented, healing/deliverance-oriented and prophecy-oriented churches. However, in Zambia, these categories are not in black and white because the spirituality of some of the new Pentecostal churches is influenced or shaped by local conditions.

According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2010), there are two types of classical Pentecostal churches. The first type is called Western/mission-related classical Pentecostal churches 'that were established in Africa through missionary activities of North American and Western European Pentecostals' (2010:60). Included in this category are churches like *Assemblies of God*, *Apostolic Faith Mission*, and others. Apart from this category, 'Africa has generated its own brand of classical Pentecostal churches and these include the Church of Pentecost in Ghana and the Deeper Christian Life of Nigeria […], and the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa also belong to this category' (2010:60). This study will refer to these two categories simply as classical Pentecostal churches and new Pentecostal churches respectively.

1.3.2 Defining Christian Spirituality

Since Pentecostals emphasise 'the working of the gifts of the Spirit', the study regards spirituality as the key aspect in identifying Pentecostalism. Although to a modern Pentecostal, the term spirituality may be a relatively strange concept, Pentecostal and charismatic scholars have argued that Pentecostalism should be defined as spirituality and not theology. It is more than Spirit-baptism and tongues-speaking. In the words of Daniel Albrecht and Evan Howard (2014:235), 'what is most distinctive about Pentecostalism is not their theology or their ecclesiastical structure […]. Pentecostalism is a movement of the Spirit, and spirituality is fundamentally about life in the Holy Spirit' (*see also* Hollenweger 1988:551 and 1999:43; Land 1993:47; McRobert 1997:298).

Although spirituality is a phenomenon that is acknowledged and accepted in Christian circles, for some believers (quoting McGinn 1985:xv), 'the term may have unfortunate

connotations that suggest the kind of radically negative and pessimistically antimaterial understanding of Christianity that has dogged its history for many centuries'. Bernard McGinn (1985:xv) defines Christian spirituality as 'the lived experience of Christian belief in both its general and specialized forms'. Russell Spittler (2002:1096) uses the working definition of spirituality as 'a cluster of acts and sentiments that are informed by the beliefs and values that characterize a specific religious community'. The study adopts Anderson's (2004:200) working definition of Christian spirituality as the 'people's awareness and lived experience of God'. Here the emphasis, says Angelo Cettolin (2005:26), is not on the individual spirituality, but on the 'type or mode of relating to God, to others and the world'.[7]

In Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship today, there is an emerging consensus that the centre of Pentecostal spirituality is not only pneumatology but Christology as well (*see* Kärkkäinen 2007:9–23; Dayton 1987; Spittler 2002:1096–1102). Anderson (2013: 147) says that the centre of gravity of Pentecostal identity is having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ 'who is seen as the one who heals, the one who makes holy, the one who empowers believers by giving the Spirit'. At the heart of Pentecostalism is the emphasis on 'the lived reality of the faith, the life and service of the people of God who are organically constituted as the body of Christ by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit' (Anderson 2004:196). Thus, the focus of this study is Pentecostal lived experiences or practices of faith and how this influences the believers' perception of corruption.

1.3.3 Pentecostal Identity as Holiness

In this study, Christian spirituality is defined as 'people's awareness and lived experience of God' (*see* §1.3.2). To a Pentecostal, what does it mean to have 'a lived experience of God'? Schneiders (2005a:7–10) points out that the key element in spirituality is 'lived experience'. This kind of experience, she says, comes out of a lived relationship with one's notion of the absolute. In her opinion, lived experience is transformative and all-encompassing in that it brings about growth or change in one's life and it also involves other issues besides one's understanding of the absolute. According to Steven Land (1993:71), experience is integral to

7 It is important to note that this definition assumes that religious life determines how an individual practices spirituality. However, according to David Perrin (2007:20), spirituality, whether it is linked to belief in God or not, struggles with the mystery of the deep questions around the meaning of life. According to Schneiders (1989:679), 'the term no longer refers exclusively or even primarily to prayer and spiritual exercises, much less to an elite state or superior practice of Christianity. Rather, from its original reference to the "interior life" of the person, usually a cleric or religious, who was "striving for perfection," i.e. for a life prayer and virtue that exceeded in scope and intensity that of the "ordinary" believer, the term has broadened to connote the whole life of the life of faith and even the life of the person as a whole, including its bodily, psychological, social and political dimensions' (*see also* Schneiders 2005b). Although spirituality is not exclusively religious or denominational, this study is concerned with Christian spirituality.

Pentecostal life because the latter is focused on 'interventions of God' like conversion, Spirit-baptism, sanctification, healing, and calls to ministry. However, this lived experience, according to Anderson (2004:204), is not just an individual experience that puts one in a relationship with God, but an experience of the Spirit that 'makes Jesus Christ more real and relevant to daily life […]' (*see also* Anderson 2013:147; Albrecht 1992:109).

The roots of this Pentecostal experiential dimension lie in the nineteenth century evangelical revivals and the Wesleyan holiness movement that preceded the Azusa Street experience (Anderson 2004:19–38; Oo 2002:314; Synan 1971:143).[8] Land (1993:23) says that Pentecostalism is a movement in which 'righteousness, holiness, and power of God are correlated with distinctive apocalyptic affections which are the integrating core of Pentecostal spirituality'. Here holiness is one of the integral elements that describe the normative experience of Pentecostalism. According to Robert Lang'at (2010:29), 'the doctrine and experience of holiness is central to understanding the process that has brought African Christianity [African Pentecostalism] to where it is today'. He (Lang'at 2010:31) further points out that, 'African Pentecostalism [...] drew its holiness theological heritage directly from American or western Pentecostalism or through radicalization of Keswick and Wesleyan/Methodist holiness theology in the African context'.

According to Paul Fahy (1998:15), John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection (especially the teaching of a 'second blessing') laid the foundation for the holiness movements in the US in the nineteenth century. According to Wesley (1703–1791), anyone who accepts Christ is cleansed of 'conscious sin' (the sin that one knows) and enters a state of holiness (Vick 1966:205). However, this does not mean that one has been cleansed of all sin; there is some residue of sin (the inclination or desire for evil) that remains even after conversion (1966:205–206). To attain perfection or full holiness, one needs the grace of God that kills the desire or propensity to sin and kick starts the process of holiness. Thus, according to Wesley, it is possible for one to attain full holiness in one's life. As it reached the US, Wesley's doctrine of sanctification found home among the nineteenth century revivalist preachers who emphasised a personal and public acceptance of the Spirit and a commitment to holiness (*see* Dayton 1987; Synan 1997/1971). According to Henri Gooren (2010:95), holiness has always been special to North American Pentecostalism because the question of how to fulfil the biblical calling to perfection occupied the early adherents of the movement.

Despite having historical roots in the nineteenth century holiness movement, there is a debate concerning the existential connection between modern Pentecostalism and holiness. According to Birgit Meyer (2004 and 2010:120–1) and Robbins (2010:158–66), holiness

8 Anderson (2004:19–38) has strongly and persistently argued against the assumption that global Pentecostalism is solely the product of the Azusa Street revival. According to him, global Pentecostalism is also the product of many indigenous revivals in different parts of the world. Anderson propounds a 'multiple Jerusalem theory' that views global Pentecostalism as more of a global Christian event rather than merely an American invention (*see also* Anderson 2013:30).

continues to play a big part among Pentecostals and charismatics. This is reflected in the relationship between being born-again and the rapture, complete break or radical discontinuity with the past (*see* Gooren 2010:95; Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001:6–7). Physical and spiritual well-being is not the only issue that is stressed in modern Pentecostal and charismatic teachings. A lot of emphasis is placed on practical holiness that is signalled by breaking from the past, referring to beliefs and practices that are considered as evil or satanic. Other scholars (like Robbins 2010:159) refer to Pentecostal conversion as a process of 'world-making' or 'world-breaking' where converts focus on reforming their lives by conversion.

However, according to some scholar, this Pentecostal experience of rapture, complete break or radical discontinuity with the past, has been overplayed in Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship. Katrien Pype (2015:362–3) wrote, 'The idiom of rapture is pervasive in Pentecostal/charismatic discourse. Yet, remains a discursive strategy of gaining influence over individuals' life worlds, and a complete "break with the past" is hardly ever totally accomplished' (For a critique of the idea of rapture or complete break with the past, *see also* Engelke 2010; Daswani 2013; Lindhardt 2010 and 2015). Although there may not be a complete break or radical discontinuity with the past, I do agree with Meyer and Robbins that holiness is central in Pentecostal and charismatic movements today. Despite the perceived lack of moral emphasis in modern Pentecostalism, morality is of utmost importance in Pentecostal life. As Robbins (2010:166) says, 'Pentecostals often experience their daily lives as arenas of struggle between good and evil, or God and the devil, and they see the cultivation of spiritually enhanced self-control as an important personal project' (follow this discussion on §6.3.3).

Stephen Swindle (2009:154) agrees with Meyer and Robbins but underlines that modern Pentecostalism is concerned with 'individually-focused holiness' that transforms the believer's life to certain virtues and is divorced from collective issues. According to Swindle (2009:154), the nineteenth century revival emphasised a sense of hatred of sin and the moral transformation of the believer and the society. The addition of Spirit-baptism and tongues-speaking in holiness theology severed the link between the society and the fledgling Pentecostal movement (2009:154). This does not mean that holiness was completely removed from the Pentecostal agenda but 'rather that its primary motivation and agenda shifted' (2009:154). The focus on 'individual holiness' was a marked departure from the Wesleyan 'scriptural holiness' that was relational or communal. For Wesley scriptural holiness meant a 'new creation', the total transformation of the believer's society individually and collectively (2009:154). This means that the believer is called to show his/her abhorrence to injustices and corruption in the society, the evils that interfere with God's plan of the world and society (2009:154).

Other scholars, however, think that modern Pentecostalism, unlike early Pentecostals, is reticent when it comes to Christian perfection. For instance, Tham Wan Yee (2001:153–186), the Filipino AOG scholar, argues that modern Pentecostals and charismatics emphasise

tongues-speaking and healing more than holy living and are deviating from the ethos of early Pentecostalism. According to Yee (2001:166), early Pentecostals, unlike modern Pentecostals, had the desire to balance knowing what is good (inward experience) and doing what is good (holy living). Another Filipino AOG scholar, Saw Oo (2002:314), added that this lack for concern for holy living is because Pentecostals 'have given more weight to the manifestation of charismata than to right conduct'. Because of these reasons, says Oo (2002:320), the 'Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians need a renewal movement like the Holiness movement of the nineteenth century'.

1.4 Practical Theology in the Context of Corruption

Although the study examines the relationship between Pentecostal ethical framework and the problem of corruption, the study is not an engagement in social ethics. At the conception of this study, my exploratory readings and field excursions exposed me to the fact that, unlike other Christian traditions, Pentecostalism is a movement that is marked by ambiguity and complexity such that it is, sometimes very difficult, if not impossible, to codify an overarching Pentecostal and charismatic approach to social ethics. As Wolfgang Vondey (2012:104) points out:

> The undeniable tensions between traditional forms of social engagement, on the one hand, and the triumphalism of the health and wealth gospel, on the other hand, paint a clear picture of the wide range of social consciousness in the Pentecostal movement. Any attempt to construct a homogeneous image of Pentecostal social ethics inevitably results in the misleading assumption that either one side is dominant or that the tensions between both sides are negligible. […] what we find among Pentecostals is not only a wide range of attitudes toward social engagement but also a social consciousness in transition that has become characteristic of the state of affairs of the young movement worldwide. A proper assessment of Pentecostalism therefore must take into account the dominant extremes as well as the position of ambivalence, ignorance, and shifting allegiance. […]. The Pentecostal attitude toward engagement with social, economic, and political issues is not static. It is highly dependent on existing conditions, dominant cultural perspectives, economic developments, political leadership, religious examples and the corresponding desires for acceptance and effectiveness or reformation and change. (*see also* Dempster 1987:129)

Constructing a homogeneous image of Pentecostal social ethics is challenging if one is beginning with abstract theories of Pentecostalism. Unlike other academic disciplines, practical theology employs the inductive method that begins with experience and practice and then attempts to construct, through a critique of all perspectives, a personal and communal Pentecostal and charismatic response to social engagement. Practical theology was not a

discipline I was exposed to during my undergraduate and postgraduate studies. My interest in practical theology was sparked by my exploratory excursions among Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe. I started realising that my intended research, one that is context-based and practice-focused, demands a theological approach different from the one I was used to. I felt the need for a methodology that can capture and interpret, meaningfully and contextually, the life of a given church or faith community.

1.4.1 Defining the Discipline

Considering the above, the study can be described as a practical theological reflection on the problem of corruption. Practical theology is not easy to define. However, as Bonnie Miller-McLemore (2012a:5) points out, 'The sheer difficulty of definition […] does not mean practical theology is an invalid or ill-conceived enterprise. Rather, it underscores its complex and extended responsibilities'. Notwithstanding the variations and perspectives in conceptualising the discipline,[9] this study understands practical theology as 'a general way of doing theology concerned with the embodiment of religious belief in the day-to-day lives of individuals and communities. It engages personal, ecclesial and social experience to discern the meaning of divine presence and to enable faithful response' (2012a:14). Miller-McLemore (2012a:6) emphasises that practical theology is a distinctive theological discipline on its own and not simply an applied science or theology of pastoral care (*see also* Pears 2010:33).

This definition appeals to me because it does not approach practical theology from a conservative perspective that places Christian doctrines and ethical norms at the centre of the discipline. According to this definition, personal, ecclesial and social experiences can no longer be adjudicated by an infallible word of God or by dogmatic pronouncements of the church only. The adjudicator here is practical theology a science devoted to the embodiment of religious belief in the day-to-day lives of individuals and communities. According to this perspective, the content of practical theology is not limited to ecclesial experiences but includes personal and social experiences as well. The definition also highlights one of the most important functions of practical theology, that is, to discern the meaning of divine

9 In recent years, a new consensus is emerging within the field that aims at changing the perception within practical theology. According to the late Don Browning (1988:83), one of the most influential Northern American theologians, a practical theology movement is emerging that is now moving away from what is called the clerical paradigm. In his words (Browning 1988:83), 'the newer movement […] sees practical theology as primarily reflection on the church's practice in the world'. As a result, today there is a paradigm shift that emphasises that practical theology is more than just a confessionally-oriented applied science. The Baptist theologian, Robert Smith (2007:39) points out that, 'This notion of practical theology is clearly situated in the world, aims at human and world transformation, and focuses on the contemporary realities of life […]. The emerging new paradigm for doing theology focuses on human praxis as a point of departure and the mutual interlocutory relationship between *praxis* and theory' (emphasis original).

presence and to enable faithful response. Thus, says Miller-McLemore (2012a:14), practical theology points to something normative and eschatological, how people ought to live and do so fully (*see also* Miller-McLemore 2012b:111).

According to Miller-McLemore (2012a:5), today, this definition is used (or amplified) in four ways. It is 'a *discipline* among scholars', 'an *activity of faith* among believers', 'a *method* for studying theology in practice' and 'a *curricular area* of subdisciplines in the seminary' (emphasis original). This work amplifies the second and third aspects of the definition that understands practical theology as 'an activity of believers seeking to sustain a life of reflective faith in the everyday' and a way of analysing theology or faith in practice (2012a:5,11). According to Kathleen Cahalan and James Nieman (2008:80), the reason why the discipline is called practical is that it 'wants instead to understand the extant and actual demands in which faithful discipleship is lived'. The first amplification of practical theology as activities of daily life does not understand the discipline simply as a 'systematic enterprise, aimed at ordering of beliefs about God, the church, or classic texts' (Miller-McLemore 2012a:14; *see also* Osmer 2004:149). Thus, practical theology is not simply an exegesis of the scriptures in the light of the believers' experiences or vice versa. Neither is practical theology a theology of religion (Miller-McLemore 2012b:107–12).

According to Miller-McLemore (2012a:14), practical theologians do not simply study lived-religion, but instead study lived-theology or lived-faith to have a deeper understanding and influence on 'faith in action in congregations and public life more generally' (*see also* Miller-McLemore 2012c:103).[10] Therefore, in this study, the practical theological interpretation shall be based on the cross-disciplinary dialogue and thinking between theology and other fields of study, most notably, studies on corruption and Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. The second amplification understands practical theology as a means to ecclesial and social change (Miller-McLemore 2012a:14). The study does not contain large quantities of data on corruption and Pentecostalism, but rich case studies that are meant to lead to a comprehensive and integrated practical theological reflection on the problem of corruption and Pentecostal faith.

Richard Osmer (2008:227) says that the biggest barrier to an effective practical theology is the emphasis or obsession with mastery of content and processing more data. This prevents one from integrating one's experiences into competent theological thinking. Osmer (2008:227) proposes the use of 'case studies and critical incident reports to practice practical theological interpretation in relation to particular episodes, situations, and contexts'. As I have indicated

10 Dutch theologians, R. Ruard Ganzevoort and Johan Roeland (2014:91) argue that practical theology is no longer confined explicitly to religious fields 'or specifically Christian domains but include the broader field of spiritual and existential practices'. According to them (Ganzevoort and Roeland 2014:93), the object of practical theology is praxis, an emphasis on lived religion and the everyday religious practices of the people (*see also* Browning 1988:83 and 1999:53; RL Smith 2007:39).

above, the study embraces a theological interpretation that reflects the interaction between theology and the social disciplines, *vis-a-vis* corruption and Pentecostalism. Secondly, it makes use of case studies and congregational studies as means to understand the shaping and development of Pentecostal faith in the context of the problem of corruption. The integrated model of theological interpretation and case studies helps us to have a closer look at the real issues.

1.4.2 The Context of Corruption

Today (especially in North America), there are several practical theologians who are focused on social analysis and others who are engaged in critical public discourses (*see* Moore 2004:178). In practical theology, social analysis is the utilisation of the tools of social sciences to study and analyse a particular social experience and have a better understanding and to interact meaningfully with that experience. Over the years, practical theologians have focused their attention on matters ranging from health – sickness to development – poverty (*see* Miller-McLemore 2012b:7).

The last two decades have seen macro research into the problem of corruption improving considerably resulting into the development of new insights to understand the causes and effects of corruption. Despite that, practical theology has not yet paid full attention to the problem of corruption, except for few articles from North West University, Porchefstroom, South Africa. Johannes Vorster says that the Church has a role to play in preventing corruption in the society. According to Vorster (2013:140), 'the main task of the church regarding social problems lies within the domain of ethics' and the Church as the people of God's kingdom or 'the "power station" of the kingdom of God', are called to be a public witness. When it comes to dealing with the problem of corruption, Vorster proposes three strategies the Church can apply in the anti-corruption fight.

The first strategy is for the Church to raise awareness of the problem and effects of corruption (2013:140). The Church is a moral agent that can use its massive influence in society (in this case the South African context) to raise awareness, through preaching and teaching, about the immoral and destructive nature of greed, nepotism, favouritism and others. The second strategy is centred on denouncing certain attitudes or ways of thinking that promote and justify the culture of corruption. Vorster (2013:142) argues that churches 'have tremendous influences on the formation of the attitudes of people and can thus play a highly important role in rectifying wrong attitudes that can have bearing on corruption'. The Church should inculcate the values of servant hood, compassion and true humaneness that are moral compasses in inter-personal relations (2013:143). The third strategy is for the Church to imitate Christ by calling for social justice. When it comes to socioeconomic justice, the Church should be the voice of the people and the watchdog of political and civic institutions 'by being the custodian of truth, honesty, fairness, and compassion. In this way churches can

be deeply involved in combating corruption because they are dealing with the root causes of the problem' (2013:144–5).

North West University seems to be developing a strong engagement with the problem of corruption in South Africa. Amanda du Plessis and Gert Breed (2013:1), from the university's department of practical theology, did a research 'to investigate the effect of corruption on victim(s) and to evaluate it in an effort to formulate solutions as to how such individuals can be guided and supported in the suffering and hardship that they endure and that specifically emanate from corruption'. The researchers (du Plessis and Breed) gathered data through field surveys at Aurora Group of Mines and interviewed the employees of the mine. They argued that the Church could play a key role in developing guidelines that lessen the impact of corruption in the society. Building up from Vorster's research, Du Plessis and Breed (2013:5) proposed a model based on first Corinthians 12 that could help to address challenges associated with corruption. Du Plessis and Breed (2013:5) argued that 'the Bible determines not only what the church must do but also what the church must be in this world. In practical theology, the researcher must establish the guidelines out of Scripture and apply them to the practical situation that is researched'.

According to this Du Plessis and Breed model, the Church should not ask 'what should we do?' but 'who are we?' When the members of the Church live according to Christ's *diakonia* (service), they are able to serve others in a sustainable way and bring change in the society:

> The *diakonia* to which the church has been called is the *diakonia* of Christ who did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as a price to overcome the forces of Satan and to cleanse the pain brought about by sin. He came to heal the sick and the wounded but also to address injustice and corruption. When the church continues its *diakonia,* they have to serve him as the healer and the judge of people in this world. The church has a leadership role to fulfil in the world, as Jesus also did. For that reason, where injustice and corruption are found, with concomitant pain, poverty and suffering, the church cannot sit back and say that it is not her problem. It is also important, however, that the church should not act outside her mandate. (Du Plessis and Breed 2013:9)

While Du Plessis and Breed proposed a biblically based anti-corruption model, their colleagues Wentzel Coetzer and Lutricia Snell (2013:30) attempted to construct an interdisciplinary model based on theology and social sciences. Their objective was 'to define some practical theological markers as part of the role of the church and the pastorate to root out corruption within the South African society in the longer term'. According to Coetzer and Snell (2013:30), in a society where corruption has permeated 'individual subconsciousness, workplace dynamics, societal norms and socialization of the maturing youth', one is bound to ask whether the Church, in general, and practical theology, in particular, 'has any relevant role to play in assisting with stemming the tide against corruption in South Africa'. They (Coetzer and Snell 2013:44) argued that practical theology could play a major role in

rebuilding the soul of South African social capital (on social capital *see* §3.3.3). The apartheid regime has left a void in the moral formation of certain sections of the society, resulting in the fragmentation of ethical norms and values. Practical theology can help in creating a God-consciousness in children and teenagers and this will result in a deep thirst for God and not material success.

Unlike their colleagues who proposed institutional approaches to fight corruption, Petria Theron and George Lotter (2012:104) proposed a grassroots model. To them, 'the Word of God should serve as the point of departure for a Christian's thinking about corruption and possible reactions towards it'. They (Theron and Lotter 2012:105–109) argued that there are normative guidelines and examples of whistle-blowers/resisters (or ethical resisters) in both the Old and New Testament that Christians living in a corrupt environment can follow. In their view (Theron and Lotter 2012:109), since:

> government programmes and legislation are not always so effective in the battle against corruption […] the problem should also be tackled at grass roots level by involving ordinary citizens, including Christians, who are willing to act as whistle-blowers. They may no longer be satisfied with the "culture of silence". Christians are called to be "reformers" who actively participate in the transformation of society. This action lies on two levels: a personal and a public level. Christians should guard against the temptation of corruption and live exemplary lives, also there where they are alone. On the public front, Christians should be willing to blow the whistle whenever corruption is encountered in society.

What these few studies reveal is the fact that practical theology in Africa is beginning to engage with the problem of corruption and to influence the Church, both as an institution and as people of God's kingdom, to think and act differently towards corrupt-related activities. Corruption is a practice that has both personal and communal dimensions and is connected to ecclesial and public theology. It is an activity that challenges faith, destroys communities and individuals. It demands practical ecclesial and socio-political responses (Miller-McLemore 2012b:7–8). Thus, the problem of corruption is now a concern of practical theological investigation today because corruption has almost become a 'way of life' (especially in sub-Saharan Africa) and an alternative economic institution.

What should be borne in mind is that most of the Potchefstroom practical theological work on corruption used Osmer's model of practical theological investigation. Osmer's model (2008:4,28–9) presents four questions to be asked during the investigation, 'what is going on?' (the *descriptive-empirical* task), 'why is this going on?' (the *interpretive* task), 'what ought to be going on?' (the *normative task*), and 'how might we respond?' (the *pragmatic* task). Osmer assigns a specific function to each of these tasks/questions, namely, priestly listening, sagely wisdom, prophetic discernment and servant leadership respectively. Although the study does not employ Osmer's model to guide the analysis and interpretation of ethnographic data,

these tasks/questions/functions could be regarded as four phases of the Church's pastoral response to the problem of corruption (*see also* Du Plessis and Breed 2013:1–2).

The first question/task is: What is going on here? What is corruption? The study shall not provide empirical research on corruption in Zambia, because, in my opinion, this area has been covered satisfactorily by credible past and recent empirical studies. The focus of the study is on the Church's conceptualisation of corruption. Firstly, is the Church aware of the impact corruption has on the people? In what way does the Church influence or shape the public discourse on corruption? Secondly, as corruption is endangering the lives of the individual and the fabric of the society, the question is whether the churches (in this case, Pentecostal and charismatic churches) are maintaining a 'spirituality of presence' in the lives of believers living in a corrupt environment (Osmer 2008:33–4). Is the Church 'attending to what is going on in the lives of individuals, families, and congregations'? (2008:34).

The second question/task is: does the Church understand the causes of corruption and is there any theological reflection on that? The application of sagely wisdom to the problem of corruption 'involves discerning the right course of action in particular circumstances, through understanding the circumstances rightly, the moral ends of action, and the effective means to achieve these ends' (2008:84). The third question/task is whether the Church is seeking to discern God's will for the problem of corruption. According to Osmer (2008:139), this prophetic discernment involves the 'interpretation of *present* episodes, situations, and contexts with theological concepts', developing ethical principles or guidelines to guide the conduct of its members (2008:149,161) and drawing on past or present models of good practice to 'reform a congregation's present actions' (2008:153). The last question/task is to investigate whether the Church is responding adequately and comprehensively to the problem of corruption facing the members.

In practical theology, when a theological concept or social experience is studied and analysed, the goal is transformational. The theological insights and concepts arising from such a theological activity helps the Church or faith community to enter into a transformational dialogue with a particular social experience that intends to change the way the community views itself and the world around it. This theological activity enables the Church to have a better understanding of a particular social experience and how to respond to that experience. As a transformational theological activity, one of the objectives of practical theology is 'to clarify the contours of a way of life that reflects God's active presence and responds to human being's fundamental needs' (Bass and Dykstra 2008:13).

1.5 Chapters Overview

The present chapter has given the reader the roadmap to the study. Pentecostal spirituality and the problem of corruption are the main anchors of this study. Since Pentecostalism and

corruption have traditionally been associated with personal spiritual and economic pursuits respectively, the two were initially thought to be worlds apart. However, the recent emergence of a prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism has led scholars to investigate the possible influence of this Christian trend on economic systems and attitudes. There is no doubt that, today, Pentecostalism and corruption have a deep impact on the lives of the people in sub-Saharan Africa. This study is not an investigation of the modern Pentecostal economy, but an attempt to understand the relationship between Pentecostal lived experiences or practices of faith and the believers' perception of corruption.

Chapter two gives a detailed presentation of the methodological tools employed during the study. To fulfil the practical theological research objectives, the study was grounded in the field of *congregational studies* by exploring two Pentecostal churches in Kitwe. The exploration of the spirituality as well as the life of the two churches was conducted using the tools of *ethnography* or, to be specific, *ecclesiological ethnography* (a symbiosis of ethnography and ecclesiology). The choice of two Pentecostal churches as *case studies* was done to understand, realistically and concretely, how they engaged with corruption and how the believer perceived that process.

Chapter three tries to answer the question: what does Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity have to do with the problem of corruption? This chapter argues that corruption is a product of associations and networks. These networks have been known to generate both positive and negative norms/values. Thus, the Church, as one of the most powerful networks, can create conditions that can lead to both lower and higher participation in corrupt activities, depending on the nature of belonging, spirituality and structure of each religious group. This chapter points out that while a lot of scholarly emphases has been placed on the socio-economic impact of prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism on the lives of the believers, what needs to be investigated is the possible link (and hypothetical relationship) between this Pentecostal trend and corrupt behaviour.

The two case studies occupy chapters four and five respectively. The first fieldwork was done at the *Pentecostal Assemblies of God* church in Kwacha township and the second fieldwork was carried out at *Bread of Life Church International* church in Kitwe central. The two churches are theologically and contextually different from each other. The former is a classical Pentecostal church while the latter is a Zambian Pentecostal and charismatic church. These chapters give the churches' historical background, context, theological identities and the results of ethnographic studies on these churches. The ethnographic material in these chapters consists of interviews done with the participants from these churches as well as my observations of the churches' pastoral and teaching ministries.

The sixth chapter provides concluding reflections on the findings of the study. The reflection is done in view of the study question: how was the problem of corruption conceptualised within the churches' discourses? Is this conceptualisation providing the members with a sound ethical framework to engage with corruption? The chapter argues that Pentecostal and

charismatic Christianity could be a strong force in the reform of cultures of corruption in Zambia. The chapter highlights two entry points that could help this Christian trend to play a meaningful role in the fight against corruption, namely, the personalisation of behavioural change and the socio-economic rebuilding of the individual. Despite this, the current Pentecostal ethical framework has three weak aspects that require critical self-examination and introspection: the rationalisation of greed, the image of God and the lack of depth and breadth in the Pentecostal scrutiny of moral failure.

2. Methodological Reflections

> It has been acknowledged that studies of Pentecostal Christianity in Africa [...] have lacked a view from the perspective of those 'below' (Bremner 2013:42)

2.1 Introduction

The first chapter presented the background of this study and gave an overview of what the entire study entails. This chapter discusses the research process and the data collection methods I used to achieve the study objectives. The purpose of this chapter is not only to reflect on how I engaged and synthesised complex methodological problems but also to present and assess, in a systematic way, my experience in this process. Before presenting the key research methodologies, this chapter begins by critically reviewing some studies on Pentecostalism that have been conducted in Zambia to date (§2.2). The third section (§2.3) presents the ethnographic approach and justify its selection as a research strategy in this study. The fourth section (§2.4) then takes the reader through the nitty-gritty details of the data collection techniques and instruments that were employed during the Kitwe case study.

2.2 Pentecostalism in Zambia: Literature Review

The growth and influence of Pentecostal and charismatic movements in the Global South[11] have not gone unnoticed in the academic world. For the past three decades, Pentecostalism has caught the attention of scholars from nearly all social disciplines and their insight has broadened and deepened the understanding of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity.[12]

11 Global South, as used in this dissertation, is a category that refers to the nations that are economically and institutionally incapacitated to provide basic services to their populations. This category is used as an alternative to the derisive concept of 'Third World' nations.

12 Scholarly attention on Pentecostalism today can easily be justified by the fact that it is the fastest growing Christian trend globally. In 1965 there were about fifty thousand Pentecostals worldwide and by 1995 that number had risen to about four hundred and sixty-three million, including two hundred and seventeen million charismatics (that is, denominational Pentecostals) (Synan 1971:ix). 'Pentecostals, however, skyrocketed throughout the late 20th century to at least 380 million, by the most conservative estimate, and perhaps as many as 600 million' (Allen 2008:2). In Africa, classical Pentecostals and new Pentecostals constitute about hundred and seven million (or twelve per cent) and about forty million (or five per cent) of the

Until recently, some of these studies have focused on the importance of Pentecostalism in the spiritual sphere of religion and, as a result, some of its moral and spiritual claims have been taken for granted. However, of late, the increasing presence and visibility of Pentecostal spirituality, coupled with the socio-economic and political impact of Pentecostal Christians, have raised issues regarding their role in public ethics and civic engagement. The relationship between Pentecostalism and civic engagement has been very ambiguous indeed. In Zambia, few studies that have been done on Pentecostalism especially on the movement's socio-political influence during the 1990s.

One study that caught my eye was Gifford's survey (1998a and 1998b) of the socio-political influence of Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. Using the methodology of political economy, Gifford systematically analyses the public roles of Christianity in four African countries: Ghana, Uganda, Zambia and Cameroon. Appealing to me is the case study on Zambia that covered events from 1991 to 1996 before the second multi-party presidential elections of 1996. Gifford's study does not give much information on Pentecostalism in Zambia, but analyses, broadly, how the churches were used to legitimate political systems. Gifford concluded that, unlike mainline churches, Pentecostal churches in Zambia did not play meaningful role in the transformation of the society because they did not have a framework to do so. Gifford's research has one shortfall. According to Paul Gundani (1989:244), a Zimbabwean church historian at the University of South Africa (UNISA), Gifford was writing during the golden era of liberation theology and, therefore, for him, the only transformative paradigm was the Latin American political theology.

Despite this shortfall, what I found relevant to my study was Gifford's (1998b:379) insistence that, while Pentecostals initially, blindly and uncritically, accepted and rubber-stamped everything the self-styled born-again Christian president Chiluba proposed, they later moved away from him, insisting that 'the highest principles are visibly absent in the government of

continents' population of about eight hundred and ninety million, respectively (*The Pew Forum* 2006). It has to be borne in mind that Christians currently constitute about four hundred and eleven million (or forty-six per cent) of Africa's population of which Catholics make up hundred and forty-seven million people (or seventeen per cent). This makes Pentecostalism Africa's second largest Christian movement after Catholicism (*Pew Forum* 2006). Not only is it second to Catholicism, but '[...] there are more Pentecostals today than all the Orthodox, Anglicans, and Lutherans put together [...]' (Allen 2008:2). According to John Allen (2008:2), it seems Pentecostalism is '[...] the defacto Southern way of being Christian [...]'. Some scholars argue that while Allen's projection may be statistically reinforceable, however, that does not mean that new Pentecostal and charismatic movements are growing at the expense of the mainline churches. For instance, Cédric Mayrargue (2008:7) says that the celebrated Pentecostal success '[...] should therefore be looked at carefully - there is no danger of a wave of Pentecostalism or Evangelism flooding the continent. Contemporary processes of religious reconstitution are numerous and long term ones; Pentecostalism, like other religions, is one of many participants in this process that is pluralizing and complicating Africa's religious life'. Nevertheless, I do agree with Allen because the current statistics speak for themselves.

Zambia'.[13] This means that not all the churches participated in the corrupt clientelistic relationship that Chiluba was trying to build. Some of the church leaders (including some prominent Pentecostal pastors) reminded Chiluba of the principles he once promoted like justice, public accountability and the concern and care for the poor (*see* Phiri 2003:409; Kunda 2000a and 2000b; Drew Smith 1999:544).

The political transformation that took place in Zambia in the 1990s continued to attract scholarly interests with the 'Christian conversion' of the state being the focal point. While Gifford analysed the socio-political influence of Christianity during the same period, R. Drew Smith attempted to trace the development of the 'New Wave' churches in Zambia from the colonial period to the Chiluba era. In his study, Drew Smith (1999:525–6) argues that Christianity in Zambia is a product of two missionary periods, namely, the late 1700s to mid-1970s, and from the 1980s forward. The first missionary period was heavily influenced by what he calls the 'world-rejecting' theologies of the Watchtower churches (1999:526). The second missionary period saw the introduction and growth of the US-based evangelical and Pentecostal missionary activities. This exposed Zambian Christianity to the American 'abundant' theologies of which the prosperity gospel is the common and popular variant.

Apart from the prosperity gospel, there are many variants of the 'abundant' theologies in Zambia today, ranging from 'Word of Faith', 'entrepreneurship' to 'deliverance' theologies. Drew Smith (1999:527) simply calls them the 'Christian dominionist' theologies because of their emphasis on 'bringing all of society, including politics and economics, into conformity with Scripture'. Coincidentally, the shift from the 'world-rejecting' theologies to the 'abundant' theologies took place against the backdrop of the severe social and economic crisis that affected Zambia in the 1970s and 1980s. The ideological influence of American ministries in Zambia was so significant that the then president Kaunda tried, vainly, to coat his political philosophy with religious qualities (Gifford 1998a:364; Drew Smith 1999:526–35). Chiluba's connections with a fast-growing international Christian movement and his adoption of 'abundant' theologies resonated with most of the people who were living in abject poverty. Drew Smith's study is valuable here because it shows how the 'abundant' theologies have made the new Pentecostal churches a dominant and powerful (as well as meaningful) transformative force in Zambia.

Jan Kees van Donge carried a detailed examination of the court cases brought against Chiluba and his co-accused on charges of plundering national resources. Van Donge's case study was aimed at analysing what he called the 'predatory behaviour' during the presidency of Chiluba

13 After he was declared president on 31 October 1991, Chiluba refused to occupy the State House until it was cleansed of all evil forces. This ceremony was followed by the November 10 anointing (or a blessing) ceremony of Chiluba and then the famous 'Christian Nation' declaration at State House on 29 December 1991. For more information, *see* Cheyeka 2010; Freston 2001:155; Phiri 2003; Phiri 1999:341; Gifford 1998a:197–8; Koschorke, Ludwig and Delgado 2007:273.

and to identify the different networks involved in the illegal activities. What pulled me to this study is the focus on understanding corruption in the light of Chiluba's crimes. In Van Donge's words (2009:72), 'corruption is seen as a rational response to economic opportunity given a particular institutional position' or 'a particular behaviour in which a consideration is given in return for money'. Chiluba's behaviour, says Van Donge, could be regarded as more predatory than corruption because of the absence of patron-client relationships that characterises most corrupt practices. Predatory behaviour, common in African politics, is the practice of recruiting clients using state or public resources to maintain political stability or stay in power.

Van Donge's research also highlights the complexity of defining corruption in African contexts that are characterised by neo-patrimonialism.[14] He distinguishes between predatory behaviour, that lacks socio- and politico-economic rationality, and corruption and he believes that the former best describes Chiluba's behaviour. From Van Donge's study, a valuable conclusion can be made that, despite the resistance to corruption in multi-party democratic Zambian culture, the struggle for public integrity is inhibited by predatory political elites who, for personal and political interests, seem to resist intensive and thorough anti-corruption drives.

The explosion of Pentecostalism in Zambia has surprised many from the mainline churches and some attempts have been made to understand this phenomenon. In his 2010 study, Bernhard Udelhoven, a Roman Catholic priest and anthropologist, traces the development of new Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Bauleni, a high-density settlement on the outskirts of Lusaka. Udelhoven (2010:4–9) discovered that Bauleni experienced a Pentecostal explosion from 1990 to 2010 that resulted in the number of new Pentecostal churches increasing from twenty-four per cent in 1990 to sixty-five per cent in 2010. Udelhoven (2010:11) also points out that the message of most of the new Pentecostal churches in Bauleni 'is inspired by various strands of Pentecostalism-including the "miracle-Gospel", the, "Prosperity-Gospel", but also the Holiness-Gospel'. Some of the churches are moulded on international (mainly African) televangelists 'with emphasis on the extraordinary manifestations of God's interventions in miracles and prophecies' (2010:13). Others are uniquely and originally Zambian influenced by local cultural realities and socio-religious aspirations of the people.

According to Udelhoven (2010:1), Pentecostal and charismatic churches should not be called 'mushrooming churches' because this connotation 'seems to imply that new churches are coming in great numbers, as if overnight and out of nowhere, just like mushrooms in the

14 Patrimonialism is understood here 'as an imbalanced relationship in this case between those in leadership and their subjects based on reciprocity. The leaders use material resources in exchange for loyalty and 'legitimacy.' Through 'gifts' the clients remain loyal to their leaders (patrons). These gifts come in different forms like money, positions in the state institutions, business opportunities and other incentives in the form of services' (Mutale 2008:12).

rainy season. But also mushrooms come from somewhere, and have been waiting for the right time to come out'. Although his studies are not an exit point on this issue, they reveal that the blossoming of churches affiliated to the Pentecostal and charismatic constituencies are transforming the Zambian Christian landscape. These churches seem to provide 'answers to the needs and hopes of a young, emerging urban middle class, in a country plagued by the scourges of poverty' (Udelhoven 2011:8). In the same vein, Anderson (2004:162) also argues that the emergence of these churches should be taken seriously because their presence 'indicates that there are unresolved questions facing the church, such as the role of 'success' and 'prosperity' in God's economy, enjoying God *and* his gifts […]. The 'here-and-now' problems being addressed by the new Pentecostal and Charismatic churches are problems that still challenge the church as a whole' (emphasis original).

John Lumbe's master's dissertation (2008) brings an 'insider' (*emic*) perspective that is, largely, missing in Zambian Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship today. An evangelical-turned-Pentecostal, Lumbe argues that after the 1990s' explosion, Pentecostal growth has slowed down ever since. The number of churches, in his opinion (2008:74–9), does not necessarily indicate the number of followers. Lumbe (2008:3) believes that despite its successes 'the movement is yet to consolidate itself as one of the influencing groups within the Evangelical movement'. Again, in his opinion (2008:3), the movement could become the agent of change in Zambia if it carries out 'introspection in their perception and involvement in socio-economic development and theological response to matters which affect communities they serve'.

Although writing as a practitioner himself, Lumbe's critical analysis of the movements' praxis seems to show that Pentecostals and charismatics can rise above church allegiance and undertake objective self-analysis and introspection of their movement. Lumbe's study is based on extensive fieldwork and interviews from different Pentecostal and charismatic leaders and members, though he sometimes does not question or verify some of his informants and sources. Likonge Chinonge (2015:25) also pointed out that 'Lumbe's sources of information are limited to his own knowledge of the movement in Zambia where he has been actively involved as early as 1982'. However, Lumbe's study makes vital contributions in Zambian Pentecostal historiography by analysing the theological reasons why there was an explosion of the movement in the 1990s. Other studies examining the same period and events used the socio-political framework that largely ignored or did not place a lot of emphasis on the theological and spiritual pinnings of these events.

Lumbe's argument that Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia, unlike mainline churches, do not have a theological framework to deal with socio-economic matters seems to be supported by other Zambian Pentecostal scholars. One of the works I managed to get hold of was Adriano Chalwe's doctoral dissertation (2008) on the mission history of the PAOG-Z. Chalwe's (2008:100) central argument is that Pentecostal churches 'are considered as very disenchanted with issues of a social, political, and economic nature. Some even consider Pentecostal preaching as only interested in addressing issues of eternal life and physical

healing'. He argues that the PAOG-Z was unconcerned with community matters because its pioneers were driven by the non-socio-political attitude of Charles Fox Parham (1873–1929), widely considered as one of the 'co-founders' of North American classical Pentecostalism. As a result, there is no social theology or even a single statement on doctrine in the constitution of the PAOG-Z (2008:102). On a brighter note, Chalwe (2008:106) admitted that Pentecostal and charismatic Christians in Zambia are slowly recognising and encouraging community involvement on a much larger scale. However, much needs to be done in terms of formulating a Pentecostal theology of socio-political and economic reconstruction, and, following the footsteps of Nigerian evangelical and Pentecostal fraternity, develop 'a written theological statement that could form the basis for directed and focused political, economic and social participation. In the absence of this, the *status quo* of withdrawal will continue to persist' (2008:124).

Victor Chanda is an AOG pastor, lecturer and principal of the church's Trans-Africa Christian University (TCU) in Racecourse compound in Kitwe.[15] His contribution to Zambian Pentecostal and charismatic scholarship was in the form of a doctoral dissertation (2013) that analysed the epistemological issues of the 'health and wealth' movement in Zambia. From the beginning, Chanda (2013:2) does not classify them as 'Pentecostals' *per se* but as the 'Word of Faith' movement (an offshoot Pentecostalism) that, in his words, 'adapted the Pentecostal distinctiveness'. There are four strands of this movement in Zambia, says Chanda. The first is the *Word of Faith* version that emphasises 'that whatever you confess by faith becomes a reality' (2013:3). The *Sowing the Seed* version emphasises that 'God will only meet the needs of those who give money (this includes tithes and offerings) to God (or the persons of God)' (2013:3). The third is the *Witchcraft* version that believes in the deliverance from witchcraft and breaking of curses (2013:4–5). The fourth is what he calls the *Dominion* version where 'Christians are expected to exercise dominion over every sphere of life' (2013:5).

Coming from a classical Pentecostal background, Chanda (2013:7) argues that the theology of the 'Word of Faith' movement 'poses a serious theological challenge to the church in Zambia'. In his dissertation, Chanda is particularly interested in the biblical hermeneutics, Christology, and pneumatology of the 'Word of Faith' movement, elements that he describes as seriously flawed and theologically narrow. Chanda's position on the prosperity gospel is not surprising because, as Anderson (2013:219) points out, 'classical Pentecostals have mostly distanced themselves from this and openly criticized its emphasis' (*see also* Anderson 2004:158).

15 Formerly called Trans-Africa Theological College, TCU is an AOG institution in Racecourse compound in Kitwe. Known as the Pentecostal Bible College until 1992, TCU was opened at Mwambashi in 1967 as a Bible college for local pastors. Over the years, the college has grown from being a denominational bible school to an interdenominational undergraduate theological college that has attracted students from outside the Pentecostal fraternity. Apart from offering a three-year diploma and a four-year degree in Bible and Theology, TCU also offers a master's programme in religious studies.

However, he (Anderson 2013:219) adds that this gospel 'has become Pentecostalism's most prominent and controversial expression'. Chanda's study (2013:71) is valuable in that he observes that 'the Word of Faith hermeneutics is born out of the quest to address certain existential problems that human beings encounter; more especially in a context of poverty and disease [...]. The major challenge in the Word of Faith movement is how the scriptures can help an individual escape the shackles of poverty'. Like what Brian Shealy (2002:176) says, the Pentecostal hermeneutics 'is concerned with questions of human existence'.

These studies are valuable in the sense that they seem to highlight the inability and sluggishness of classical Pentecostal churches to respond adequately to the people's challenges in the context of the fast-changing, globalised socio-economic environment. However, the problem with some of these studies is that they seem to evaluate the work and impact of classical Pentecostal churches while neglecting the political, social, economic and spiritual influence of Pentecostalism in Zambia today (except for the studies by Gifford and Drew Smith). Some of them (like Chanda's study) do not seem to take seriously the Pentecostal and charismatic movements as important spiritual forces in Zambian Christianity. Nevertheless, these studies underline the general functional importance of Pentecostal Christianity in Zambia. There seems to be hope that Pentecostalism, with proper introspection (as suggested by Lumbe), can influence and transform the believers in all spheres of life.

This study attempts to bring a new dimension to Zambian Pentecostal and charismatic studies by focusing on the 'view from the perspective of those below' (Bremner 2013:42), the lived spirituality of Pentecostal and charismatic believers. Instead of focusing on Pentecostal ritual practices and beliefs, the study is uniquely focused on Pentecostal and charismatic engagement with a specific moral and ethical problem affecting society. Whilst other Zambian studies have investigated the Pentecostal engagement with civic/political engagement and community development (Haynes 2015; Burgess 2015; M'fundisi 2014), HIV/AIDS and gender (Phiri 2014; Van Klinken 2011), health and well-being (Matimelo 2007), sexual matters (Bochow and Van Dijk 2012; Moyer, Burchard and Van Dijk 2013), this study is an attempt to deal with an area that has been missing in Pentecostal and charismatic studies: corruption.

2.3 Research Design

This section gives a detailed presentation of practical theological methodological tools employed during this study. The study was an attempt to understand how Pentecostal spirituality influences the believer's perception of corruption. Grounded in the field of *congregational studies* (*see* §2.3.1), the study explored two Pentecostal churches in Kitwe. The exploration of the life of the two churches was done using the tools of *ethnography* or, to be specific, *ecclesiological ethnography* (a symbiosis of ethnography and ecclesiology) (*see* §2.3.2). The choice of two Pentecostal churches as case studies (§2.3.3) was done to understand,

realistically and concretely, how the churches engage with corruption at a societal level and how the believer perceives that process.

2.3.1 The Research as a Congregational Study

What is a congregational study? The definition of congregational study depends on what we mean by congregation. The definition of a congregation I would like to adopt in this study is the one given by the late James Hopewell. Hopewell (1987:12–13) described a congregation as 'a group that possesses a special name and recognised members who assemble to regularly celebrate a more universally practised worship but who communicate with each other sufficiently to develop intrinsic patterns of conduct, outlook, and story'. I have chosen this definition because it underlines the idea that a congregation is a group where individual patterns of conduct and outlook are developed. It shapes the individual's worldview and provides models for engagement with the outside world. He (Hopewell 1987:46–51) also suggested that a congregation functions in terms of expressing and communicating the congregation's identity, thus, enabling it to contribute to the narratives of the society. This means that '[…] congregations have significance not only for the individuals who belong to them but also for the society beyond their membership' (Carroll, Dudley and McKinney 1986:8).

The idea that a congregation is a group where membership is regular and consistent, points to the fact that it provides not only security and support to the individual, but also gives an individual hope in the face of challenges. Nancy Ammerman (1998:289–301) points out that a congregation is a powerful arena of social action where stories, prayers and words of advice and encouragement play an important part. In society, the congregation provides an invisible, subordinate, but powerful culture that provides an alternative to the visible culture of exclusion, domination and oppression. Therefore, congregational studies 'confer a balance and sense of proportion often absent from the spontaneous self-descriptions of congregations' by highlighting both the dominant and less-dominant voices in the congregation and how both influence decision-making processes within the congregations (Carroll, Dudley and McKinney 1986:8).

In recent years, many studies have shown that congregations play a pivotal role in shaping individual attitudes and societal values. Some of the most pioneering and influential works are *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook* (Ammerman 1998) and *Congregation: Stories and Structures* (Hopewell 1987). Although originally an American discipline, the 1950s saw the emergence of British congregational studies (Williams 2009). Some of the publications that shaped British congregational studies are *On the Perception of Worship* (Stringer 1999), *Congregational Studies in the UK: Christianity in a Post-Christian Context* (Guest, Tusting and Woodhead 2004), *Evangelical Identity and Contemporary Culture: A Congregational Study in Innovation* (Guest 2007) and *Testimony in the Spirit: Rescripting Ordinary*

Pentecostal Theology (Cartledge 2010). This body of literature has been developing since the early twenty-first century when ethnographic studies turned towards detailed observation of communities (*see* Williams 2009:244; Nieman 2012:133).

Why is it important for theologians to study congregations? According to Jackson Carroll and colleagues (1986:7), congregations are vehicles of traditions about faith and values that build community solidarity and continuity. They focus on the individual, provide a platform for engagement with God and the society, and give space for the fulfilment of the need for association and togetherness. K. Brynolf Lyon (2000:30) believes that congregational studies enable the theologian to understand and appreciate the dynamics and agents of care within and outside the congregations and, according to Carroll and colleagues (1986:83), give him/her 'clues to the functioning of the formal and informal processes in that system'. In addition to this, Lyon (2000:30) also points out that congregational life exposes the theologian to other theological or spiritual categories and paradigms that may help him/her to see the congregation in a new light.

Despite theological and spiritual differences among congregations, congregational studies shed light on the process of theological or spiritual reflection within the congregations themselves and open the theologian's eyes and ears 'to understand the ways in which people practice their faith' (Moschella 2008:4). At the end of the day, says Browning (1994:209), 'what we learn may be both morally suggestive and instructive for the improvement of the strategic practical theological thinking of congregations'. Further, congregational studies help theology, descriptively and strategically, by describing and unravelling the contexts and its challenges and helping the theologian to understand the range, levels, and types of rational thinking behind the life and practices of the churches (1994:218; *see* Labanow 2009:29). The congregational paradigm, according to Lyon (2000:30–1), exposes theology to 'implicit and explicit theologies at work in the local congregation' and enables the community under study to engage with itself, theologically, and be able to see the weaknesses and strengths of its practices.

Finally, because of their focus on religious gatherings, congregational studies help the theologian to focus on faith communities in a grounded way (Nieman 2012:135). This is important because in recent times there has been an attempt to shift the focus of practical theology from purely ecclesial activities to religious practices outside faith communities (*see* Note 9). However, the ever-growing number, influence and popularity of churches means that they 'remain intentional, potent, formative channels through which significant religious work is done, from participating to belonging, and from orienting to interpreting to norming' (2012:135). In light of the preceding, this study embraces James Nieman's (2012:133) definition that understands a congregational study as

> the disciplined process for examining a congregation holistically that uses multiple research methods. In place of random intuitions and impressions is an orderly exploration of what actually happens in a group, both the obvious and the

hidden, in way that accurately reflects the interaction of component features while also noticing overall patterns and structures. Fundamental to this approach is that the centrality and integrity of a congregation are preserved rather than the congregation being reduced to an illustration of a scholarly theory or an object for academic scrutiny.

2.3.2 Ecclesiological Ethnography

Ethnography, a method of research once associated with anthropology, is difficult to define because in some cases it is identified with prolonged participant observation, general fieldwork, data collection/gathering, case studies, understanding of human experience, presentation of cultural/life stories (Savage 2006:384; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:1; Willis 2007:237; Fetterman 1989:1; O'Reilly 2005:3). Although there is no single, fixed understanding of ethnography, I think it suffices here to say that the characteristics of ethnography are simply 'the detailed descriptions of other people's lives informed by prolonged fieldwork' (Ingold 2008:86).

The objective of ethnography is to provide in-depth knowledge of the culture of a people (O'Reilly 2005:33) and 'to describe the lives of people other than ourselves, with accuracy and sensitivity' (Ingold 2008:69). This 'accurate and sensitive' description of the lives, practices and beliefs of the people demands detailed fieldwork or the collection of data in natural settings. Ethnographic fieldwork is focused on recording beliefs and practices from the people's perspective since it assumes that they are shaped by and intertwined with their context. Ethnography, then, examines and interprets the phenomenon from both the 'insider' (*emic*) and the 'outsider' (*etic*) perspectives. James Spradley (1979:iv) said that ethnographic research helps us to understand how other people see their experience. This goal can only be accomplished, says Spradley (1979:3), if the ethnographer moves from merely studying the people to learning from them. In this process, the ethnographer does not only draw meanings from the analysis of the peoples' experiences but also turn these meanings into theories that can be captured and utilised outside the context under study.

In recent years, as early as the nineteenth century, several theologians have turned to ethnography to understand the complex nature of Christian faith, though Christian ethnography was in its early stages (MacIndoe 2014:1). The beginning of theological interest in ethnography is linked to the renaissance of practical theology in the 1980s, a development that seems to have sharpened an 'ethnographic turn' towards the concept of praxis in theology. During the period, Browning, says Timothy Synder 2014:2, 'developed a systematic proposal for theology to engage social analysis using the kind of thick descriptions of cultural situations that were common in the social sciences'. This explains why, today, 'Ethnography is the favoured means of exploration in congregational studies' (MacIndoe 2014:5). To highlight the need for theological reflection that is rooted in lived experience, Nicholas Healy, in

Church, World, and the Christian Life: *Practical Prophetic Ecclesiology* (2000), coined the term 'ecclesiological-ethnography' when analysing the abstract, systematic and idealised ecclesiology. In this book, Healey argues against what he calls 'blueprint ecclesiologies' that create an identity of the church different from what the church is on the ground.

Since then, conversations on theology and ethnography have been taking place over the years both in the US and UK and have resulted in *Ethnography as Christian Theology and Ethics* (Scharen and Vigen 2011), *Perspectives on Ecclesiology and Ethnography* (Ward 2011) and *Explorations in Ecclesiology and Ethnography* (Scharen 2012). This turn to ethnography, says Synder (2014:3), '[…] represents one of the most important shifts in contemporary theology but not only for academic theologians. This empirical turn is also of utmost significance for the church'. Because of this development, Elisabeth Philips (2012:102) warns that theologians should be careful when applying the term 'ethnography' to their studies because

> Anthropologists usually mean by the term something much more specific than do most theologians. An ethnography is an extraordinary comprehensive and holistic study of a culture that usually requires several months, if not years, spent inside a culture. When theologians use the term to describe anything from a historical vignette to a theological case study, I fear they may be confusing matters more than clarifying. "Theological practices of thick description" do not roll off the tongue as easily as "ethnography". (*see also* Ingold 2008: 86)

Following this advice, I call the methodology used in this study *ecclesiological ethnography* 'as opposed to ethnography proper' (Philips 2012:102). This refers to the adoption of ethnography by theology as a conversation partner to understand how social and cultural contexts relate to lived faith and the church (Synder 2014:1). The term *ecclesiological ethnography* is an attempt to combine and deal with the in/adequacies of both theological reflection and ethnographic research to fully understand the life and practices of the church. The ethnographic part comes in with hermeneutical tools that enable the theologian to interpret situations from a cultural point of view, something that theology cannot do. However, ethnography itself cannot reflect and interpret the situation theologically. It can only describe a setting, but it does not have the capacity to carry out a theological reflection on its findings. The theological part comes in this process with social and theological hermeneutical tools that enable the theologian to have a holistic understanding of the life of the congregations (Labanow 2009:36).

What is the value of ethnography in the theological study of congregations? John Swinton and Harriet Mowat (2006:24) underline the fact that an ethnographically oriented theological reflection helps the theologian to have a better understanding of the cosmology of a congregation under study. When the theologian spends time with a congregation and participates in its daily activities, he/she begins to see the world from the congregation's perspective. This inner perspective can be a transformative experience if the theologian is investigating religious practices and beliefs that are considered as 'strange'. As indicated

earlier, the development of the *emic* perspective demands that the theologian treats people as 'co-researchers' and not simply as objects for study (2006:24). Ethnography calls the 'outsider', the theologian, to respect the congregation's complex practices and beliefs and this 'ethnographic respect' demands that the process begins with the questions or issues that people have and not the questions that serve the interests of the theologian.

Thus, ecclesiological ethnography is the best way to gather information on the life of a congregation. It enables the theologian to demystify the undercurrents of the community and helps him/her to 'to navigate in these particular waters' (Moschella 2008:7). As Anna Hall (2013:132) says, 'Ethnography can provide rich description and is able to navigate between the stories of congregational members and the story observed by the researcher' (*see also* Thumma 1998:203). It provides a scientific interpretation of the 'works' and 'fruits' of congregational life. That is why Hopewell (1987:88) was convinced that it is 'The fullest and most satisfying way to study the culture of a congregation' since it enables the researcher 'to live within its fellowship and learn directly how it interprets its experience and generates its behaviour'. Therefore, one of the main reasons why the ethnographic approach is important to a theologian is that it affords him/her opportunity to have an insight into the lived faith of the believers and the local theologies of the churches (Hall 2013:133).

Ethnographic fieldwork is very important when studying Pentecostal and charismatic churches where expression of feelings plays a significant part. As Mark Cartledge (2015:24–5) points out, Pentecostal spirituality is 'affective' meaning that, to a Pentecostal and charismatic, affections are a normal way of responding to God's love and the gospel of Jesus Christ (*see also* Cartledge 2003:19 and 2004:34–52). Emphasising the centrality of feelings to the understanding beliefs, Jon Mitchell (1997:79–80) states that beliefs are based on three modes of cognition, namely, the semiotic (the written and spoken), the practical (the embodied form of knowledge) and the emotional. Drawing on Mitchell's work, I realised that the *ecclesiological ethnographic* approach enables one to understand, appreciate and value the roles that feelings play in shaping the spiritual identity of a Pentecostal church and not only to participate at a peripheral level, but also to experience the affections that give Pentecostal spirituality a unique identity.

2.3.3 What is a Case Study?

Today, the ethnographic method is regarded as 'one of the most widely used and valued ways of doing practical theology' wrote Daniel Schipani (2012:91; *see also* Vyhmeister 2001:173). Its importance is obvious in relation to one of the key research tools in practical theology, the case study method. An Casson (2010:89) says that 'For ethnography to have validity as a research method, it needs to establish a clear framework for the research […]. The case study research method functions well within an ethnographic framework'. Although there are paradigmatic or epistemological differences between ethnography and the case study method

(in terms of participation-exploration versus hypothesis-testing), the two have more similarities than dissimilarities. When case studies are used within an ethnographic context, 'researchers do not seek to find universals in their case studies. They seek, instead, a full, rich understanding (verstehen) of the context they are studying' (Willis 2007:240). Besides, says Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1983:24), 'ethnography's use of multiple data sources is a great advantage here. This avoids the risks that stem from reliance on a single kind of data: the possibility that one's findings are method dependent'.

There are many ways of defining a case study, but the central understanding is that it is an examination of an under-researched phenomenon in its normal or real-life context. According to Robert Yin (2003:13), a case study is 'an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. To put it simply, the case study method is a research strategy that is used to acquire in-depth knowledge about a particular phenomenon or phenomena using a variety of methods (*see* Anderson and Arsenault 1993:152–60; Patton 1987:18–20; Zonabend 1992:52–3; Abercombe, Hill and Turner 1984:34; Miles and Huberman 1994:25). I like Schipani's (2012:91) definition which states the case study method is 'a special way of learning from a concrete slice of reality and human experience, whether in research, teaching ministry, arts or supervision. It can be defined as an organized and systematic way of studying and reporting various aspects of a person, family, group, or situations utilizing a structured outline and questions'.

What was the rationale for employing the case study method in this project? Robert Stake (1995:444) said that a case study is not defined by the data collection strategies but by the interest in the individual case. What constitutes a 'case', according to Stake (1995:444), is boundedness and specificity. Again, Yin (2003:38–41) says that the case study method can be rationalised in certain contexts where the phenomenon has not been previously examined. In this context, the case study method was based on the conviction that it would enable me to investigate how Pentecostal spirituality was related to the problem of corruption. I was convinced that the case study method would enable me to pay full attention to the practices and beliefs in these churches. The case study method is also appropriate if the study attempts to answer the 'how' and 'why' questions, how things happen and why they happen (2003:6; *see also* Crowe, Cresswell and Robertson 2011). The questions that guided the study were aimed at getting an in-depth understanding of the churches' spirituality as well as the nature and complexities of the processes that were taking place within the churches themselves.

Another reason for employing the case study method is that it is also useful in situations where the researcher has little or no control over the phenomenon being studied (2003:5). In contrast to other approaches, the case study method lets the context flow freely rather than attempt to manipulate the environment. In this study, the case study method was the best option since I was neither a member of the churches under study nor Pentecostal and charismatic in any way. Again, the Pentecostal and charismatic movements are some of the most vibrant and visible forms of Christianity in Zambia. Despite their large and growing

influence, there is, to my knowledge, no Zambian research available to gauge their influence in shaping public morals and ethics. In this case, the case study method was appropriate and highly relevant to the study of this nature because it enabled me to gain a holistic view and understanding of Pentecostal conceptualisation of the problem of corruption.

2.4 Research Methods on Kitwe Pentecostal Churches

When the research started, my ambition was to investigate institutional corruption within Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia. Initially, the intention was to employ a mixed-method approach that involves interviews, questionnaires, document analysis, fieldwork and other research techniques. However, over time, the research methodology began to change after undertaking some preliminary excursions among some Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe. I then decided to do fieldwork among some Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe examining their spirituality and the problem of corruption. My understanding was that a field-researched case study could be the most effective technique to capture and understand the nuances and dynamics of Pentecostal and charismatic experiences and examine how they are conceptualising the problem of corruption.

2.4.1 Rationale for Site Selection

There are two reasons why I selected BLCI as a case study. The first reason was sociological in that the importance of BLCI lies in its place among the emerging mega-Pentecostal and charismatic churches that are increasingly becoming prominent in Zambia's public life. As one of the biggest and dynamic new Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia, it is a notable and outstanding church in the Pentecostal constituency. Again, the selection was purely accidental in the sense that during the study period, I knew some people who belonged to this church and I thought it would be easier to get participants in BLCI than in a church where I had no contact.

I moved to Kitwe at the beginning of 2009 before I could get in touch with the BLCI main church in Lusaka's Emmasdale suburb (*see* §5.2.1). In Kitwe, my attention was immediately drawn to Kitwe-BLCI, because it is arguably one of the fastest growing Pentecostal churches in the city. When I arrived in Kitwe, I was fortunate again that I knew someone who was a prominent member of BLCI in the nearby city of Ndola (henceforth, Ndola-BLCI). He was also an acquaintance of pastor Kangwa Mumba, the resident pastor of Kitwe-BLCI. After a series of phone calls and emails, I finally managed to have a meeting with the resident pastor of Ndola-BLCI, pastor George Chanda, at his home where I explained the nature of the study. He welcomed the study and expressed confidence that the study will be of benefit to his church. Another meeting with pastors Chanda and Mumba a few weeks later at a restaurant

in Kitwe led to the adoption of the study by the two churches. The plan was to begin the study at Kitwe-BLCI before moving to Ndola-BLCI.

Despite meeting the two pastors and creating a rapport with them, the fieldwork did not take off as planned as pastor Mumba was constantly busy whenever I tried to get in touch with him. I planned to work with the pastor in identifying the first participants and, from there, slowly build on the initial contacts as the research developed. By that time, I had an impression that without the involvement of the pastor in the arrangement of the interviews it would be difficult to get the cooperation of the BLCI members. I realised during this exploratory stage the importance of gaining the blessing of the pastor in a Pentecostal or charismatic church. The pastor is at the centre of all the church activities and is regarded as the instrument that mediates divine favours to the believer. The 'man (or woman) of God' does not only interpret God's revelation in the Bible but reveals and interprets God's purpose and plan for every individual believer (*see also* §4.4). I began attending Sunday church services at Kitwe-BLCI. Attending church services was not about participating, but observing how the church worshipped, listening to the sermons and the music the members listen to and allowing oneself to be moved by the atmosphere or the Spirit in the church. In this way, I was able to listen to the unspoken word and know the other side of the church.

The inclusion of Kwacha-PAOG was not intended. While making one of my frequent visits to his office, pastor Mumba suggested that I should consider paying a visit to TCU in the Kitwe township of Racecourse (*see* Note 16). At TCU, I met Chanda, who was at that time a final year doctoral student with the University of Pretoria (*see* §2.2). My meetings with Chanda were very fruitful and, somehow, altered the direction of my research. From our first meeting, I had the impression that Chanda was a bit uncomfortable with my single case study focus. He then suggested another research site, Kwacha-PAOG. When I visited Kwacha-PAOG, the resident pastor, Moses Banda, had already been informed of my impending visit and research. I met pastor Banda at his house, just a few metres from the church, and we had a long chat about his life and ministry. After explaining the nature of my research, pastor Banda welcomed the research since he was convinced that his congregation would benefit from the study.

I visited Kwacha-PAOG for at least twenty times and sometimes to chat with pastor Banda and other members of the church and other times to attend one or two group meetings at the church. The more I informally interacted with the members of Kwacha-PAOG, the more I gained the confidence and trust of the people. I also became aware of the differences between Kitwe-BLCI and Kwacha-PAOG. The latter is a small church of nearly two hundred congregants per Sunday and most of them are self-employed and middle-income earners (*see* §4.3.1). Therefore, the church was not as affluent and wealthy like the former. Listening to the sermons in both churches, I could easily notice that while the Kitwe-BLCI was prosperity-oriented, the Kwacha-PAOG was 'holiness-oriented'.

The reason why the BLCI pastors were initially uneasy with the objectives of my study was that BLCI is hierarchically structured (an episcopal polity) with the founding bishop Joseph Imakando at the top (*see* §5.2.2). He acts as the chief executive officer and seems to control and influence how every BLCI unit operates. When I sent them a list of questions I intended to ask the participants, I was informed that some of the questions could only be answered by the founding bishop. In contrast, the PAOG-Z operates on a semi-autonomous system of governance that gives power to the resident pastor in the running of the local church (congregational polity) (*see* §4.2.2). Because of that, pastor Banda made on-the-spot-decision to allow the research within his church and gave me the blessing to interview the church members.

2.4.2 Fieldwork and Data Gathering

As I have indicated above, the initial strategy was to employ multiple research methods. My preliminary excursions among some Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe provided me with some insight that changed my research strategies. I became aware of the fact that Pentecostal and charismatic churches are rather poor at historical, statistical and policy documentation. The churches I visited had no historical documentation. Unlike mainline churches that have strong organisational and structural policies, Pentecostal and charismatic churches, until recently, have placed a lot of emphasis on the evangelistic spirit that is based on a cosmology of personal salvation and relationship with Christ. This has sometimes resulted in a highly decentralised organisational structure that puts a lot of emphasis on charismatic or 'Spirit-led' leadership. Thus, it is not surprising that statistics have been relegated to the periphery of Pentecostal polity (Lumbe 2008:6).

This explains why most of the Pentecostal churches in Zambia did not document their history and statistical information on their growth. However, and most interestingly, they supplemented their lack of documentation by recording their experiences, especially the pastors' sermons, teachings and healing sessions. Some Pentecostal and charismatic churches have, by Zambian standards, well-organised and advanced media ministries that record all services, sermons and teachings to be used for evangelistic purposes. When studying Pentecostal and charismatic worship, there is a temptation to be lost in these video/audio archives and libraries that have become the hallmark of Pentecostal and charismatic marketing strategies. The problem with these recordings is that the participants would be aware that they are being recorded and, thus, what is said and done would look like a carefully choreographed and rehearsed performance that may not reflect the actual lived experiences of the individual members.

One of the questions that any Pentecostal and charismatic researcher is likely to struggle with is: what level of immersion is needed to have both a close encounter with the life being studied while maintaining an objective distance? David de Vaus (2001:237), a social scientist, has warned that in some cases a disinterested observation can result in reactivity especially if

the researcher underlines his/her personal belief system. There is, therefore, the need to reduce the chances of reactivity by being as natural as possible. In this regard, James Stevens (2002:40) gives four positions of ethnographic research. The first is the 'complete observation' that means sustained participation with the concealment of observation. Here the researcher completely hides his/her identity and becomes part of the community being studied. The second is the 'participant-as-observer' whereby the sustained participation is accompanied by openness and acknowledgement of research. The third position is the 'observer-as-participant' that focuses on open observation with brief and formal contacts. The fourth position is the 'complete observer' that is almost like eavesdropping with little or no contacts with the participants.

At first, I adopted the 'observer-as-participant' position, pretending to be a born again and behaving like a regular member of the church, but then realised that the more I pretended the less I became observant. I found covert researching to be difficult and ethically challenging, especially when asking people about sensitive and personal information (on the ethics of covert researching, *see* Spicker 2011; Van Amstel 2013). Pretending to have tongues-speaking experiences and to be emotionally involved in Pentecostal and charismatic services requires a lot of energy and attention that may distract the researcher from the main objective of the study. In Pentecostal and charismatic worship, there are tongues-speaking experiences and emotion-filled prayers, intercessions and singing that are difficult to cope with if you are an outsider.

I abandoned 'observer-as-participant' and turned to 'participant-as-observer'. This new strategy involved interacting with the people without hiding my identity or pretending to swim in the waters the people swim, feel what they feel and experience what they experience. Instead of telling the people that I am also a Pentecostal or charismatic and born-again, I openly told the people, whenever it was pragmatic and ethical to do so, that I am a Christian but not a Pentecostal and that I am not born-again and do not have tongues-speaking experiences. I thought that creating a level field is cardinal in research and thus, I was open about my identity and the objectives of my study hoping that the participants would do the same. However, in some cases, I would not begin an interview by openly disclosing my identity but would allow the matter to come up naturally during the interview.

This is where I found being an ethnographer with a theological background differs from an ethnographer from other disciplines. In the first place, the theologian takes into consideration the expressions of lived experiences of the people and employs their expressions as the starting point of his/her reflection. The theologian regards these expressions as opportunities to learn new forms of cognition. Most of the theologians studying Pentecostal and charismatic churches would emphasise understanding and not experiencing the phenomenon. In my research, I noticed that the participants were eager to lead me to the experience of 'knowing and accepting Jesus' and I quickly realised the importance of moving my faith from my head to my heart. This meant making myself vulnerable (to a certain extent) to that spiritual experience without disturbing the observation, analysis and reflection.

In my view, venturing out of my comfort zone and allowing the participants to break the barrier, allowed me, as a theologian, to see and experience (in a limited way) the locally lived experiences.

Attending Sunday services was an important element in my ethnographic fieldwork. Pentecostals and charismatics perceive attending services on Sundays as more than an expression of their faith, it is part of their life. Attending Sunday services is important because this is where the main message of the week is espoused, and the main revelation is heard. However, Pentecostals and charismatics do not limit their faith to Sunday services. Most of the people make sure that they attend every weekday prayer meetings or sessions either in the mornings or in the evenings. Given the fact that most of the people in Kitwe are either employed by the mines or engaged in mining-related activities, lunch-hour meetings are very rare. Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe have fellowship meetings for different groups like women, men, youths, married, singles, praise-teams, intercessors and the like. That is the reason why Pentecostal and charismatic churches are always open as people flock in either for prayer sessions, group meetings and sometimes for counselling sessions with the pastor and elders of the church.

During some of my exploratory visits to Kitwe-BLCI, I attended a couple of Sunday services to 'know and have a feel of the field'. Attending Sunday services allowed me to ethnographically observe and engage the participants. Apart from watching, listening and observing what was going on during the services, I also actively took part in the services and behaved like a regular member of the church. Sometimes in church services, I would sing when people are singing (especially in English, since I was not conversant in the Bemba language spoken by the majority of the people on the Copperbelt), raise my hands in prayers during intercessions, dance when the congregation is responding to praise-and-worship team and open my Bible to follow the preacher's Biblical references. Although Sunday services are central in Pentecostal life, one must bear in mind that studying Pentecostal life demands more than visiting places of worship and conversing with people, formally and informally. Although worship is the ultimate embodiment of Pentecostal beliefs and practices, Pentecostals and charismatics do not regard their Christian life like a Sunday affair. Pentecostalism is one of the most 'totalising' Christian trends that demand the creation of clear moral and ethical boundaries between the born-again and the world (Maxwell 1999:189; Garner 2000:151).

The Pentecostal and charismatic researcher should try as much as possible to have some familiarity with the context, observe and, given the opportunity, participate in the people's everyday life and have an in-depth understanding of some of these boundaries. As a result, I participated in cell-group meetings or gatherings in both churches every week for two months. While the Kwacha-PAOG cell groups met on Sundays in the evenings, the Kitwe-BLCI groups used to meet on Saturday afternoon. I intended to conduct the study through the churches' cell groups since I wanted to focus on those who were committed to the church or whose attendance to church services was regular and consistent. I assumed that the

committed and consistent members of the church do not only attend Sunday services but also participate in other church activities, most notably the cell-gatherings.

In Kitwe-BLCI, Bible discussions in cell-gatherings were conducted thematically where the participants' discussions were focused on themes chosen by the church. Therefore, pastor Mumba was unwilling to let me conduct discussions within the cell groups since he feared that my study would disrupt the cell discussions and prayers. I then asked the pastor whether I could attend the cell-gatherings just to listen and, possibly, participate in the discussions (which was easy because, in Kitwe-BLCI, cell-gatherings were held mostly in English) and know how the people expressed their faith away from the main church gathering. Although the cell-gatherings were not as influential as the services and meetings at church, they were very important in the research because I was able to understand the kinds and levels of faith that characterised the grassroots level of theological discourse (Cartledge 2015:25), as opposed to the official discourse that came from the church pulpit on Sundays.

As a result of this experience, the sampling method that I employed was both formal and informal. In some cases, the technique was more of a convenience than snowballing. My visits to church services and cell-gatherings provided me with opportunities to chat with people in informally. Instead of waiting for people to come to me, most of the time, I would approach people, especially those who spoke English. Nevertheless, there were instances when I would approach, through an assistant, those who could not speak English. Although some of the participants were introduced to me by existing contacts, most of the people were approached during my frequent visits to church services and meetings. At one time, I wanted to use the church registers to select the participants. However, the problem with this type of sampling is that membership in Pentecostal churches is not static and permanent. Some people visit certain Pentecostal churches for a particular reason (like the need for healing or deliverance, breaking of curses, problems with marital relationships, job seeking and others), but have their home churches where they congregate regularly.[16] Others only attend Sunday services but do not attend group or cell-gatherings.

Most of the Pentecostal churches today keep records of membership, but some of these are usually limited to those who tithe since the tithe registers record personal and contact details like names, address, cell numbers and professional or employment details. However, these records may not be a complete representation of church membership because some people

16 There is an argument that is put forward by some scholars that African Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity is not aseen as an alternative religion. This religion, according to Sophie Bemner (2013:73–87), is now part of mainstream African Christianity such that it is consumed by other Christians who might not explicitly identify themselves as Pentecostal or charismatic. Thus, it is not unusual to find Christians from both Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal churches 'church-shopping', that is, visiting some churches during the week for special prayers (deliverances, healings and others) while attending their 'home churches' on Sundays (2013:85). Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:110) argues that, in Africa, religious plurality is common where people visit different places seeking for 'multiple religious assurances'.

are reluctant to give their details. At first, participants were captured through the mediation of the pastors, but that proved to be a problem because pastors are not only respected but also 'worshipped' in Pentecostal and charismatic churches so much that there was a danger of people participating out of obligation or respect of the pastors. Some of the people I interviewed through the pastors' mediation were probably selected because of the positions they held in the church or held views that reflected those of the pastors. As a result, I emphasised voluntary participation and arranged most of the interviews without the influence of the pastors.

How then were the interviews conducted? During the research, I noticed that the types of interviews suggested by social scientists (structured, unstructured, semi-structured, open-ended and others) are sometimes inadequate to help the theologian to, borrowing Cartledge's (2008:21–33) terminology, 'rescript' Pentecostal testimonies. Conventional interviews that expect the participant to provide an 'answer' can be challenging in situations where some of the theological concepts do not conceptualise adequately the experiences of the people. Most people struggled to describe their spiritual experiences in abstract concepts and were eager to narrate how they were feeling and what their spiritual experiences meant to them. For instance, I could not find a Bemba equivalent of words like 'holiness', 'spirituality' and even 'prosperity gospel'.

Although guided by the research questions to prevent the interview from drifting wildly, most of the interviews were like purposeful conversations live, unscripted and raw. This approach creates a situation where the participant is given the time and space to express their opinion on the subject at hand. This form of data-gathering, what is variously called 'guided or directed conversation', 'conversation with a purpose', or 'professional conversation' (or 'dialectical conversation') has now been adopted by a number of researchers' today, especially in the field of practical theology (Kvale 1996:5; Burgess 1984:102; Hay and Hunt 2000:7; Rubin and Rubin 1995:122–44). David Hay and Kate Hunt (2000:7) said that they deliberately chose "research conversations' rather than in-depth interviews, because we were interested primarily in understanding what people had to say rather than testing a hypothesis'.

Abby Day (2011:36) adopted this approach 'to give informants as much control and choice as possible over how they interpreted and answered my questions so that I could capture their conceptual frameworks and vocabulary'. I found this approach to be an efficient and practical way of getting information about things that cannot easily be observed like emotions and others. Again, the participants were able to talk about things in detail and depth. I was also able to probe areas or issues coming from the participants' answers. In most cases, I would allow the participants to speak their mind without interruptions thereby allowing rich and sensitive information to come to the surface in naturally. Interviews were held in different places where it was convenient and comfortable for the participants. Some of the interviews were held at the participants' homes because sometimes I would make an appointment with a participant and would then be asked to come home. I found out that most of the participants were not comfortable with home interviews either because of the condition of their homes

would make them feel embarrassed or other family members were not in support of the participant's born-again faith. Other interviews were held in the church premises especially for those who attended prayer and group meetings at church. In most cases, I would give people the freedom to choose the location they were comfortable with.

The technique that was later devised in this research was not to focus on the problem of corruption in the initial stages but to let the participants speak freely about their experiences. This method gives room for the participants to narrate their experiences. The purpose of the interviews was to explore the participants' views on corruption and how this is reflected or influenced by their Christian beliefs. This required great listening skills, as most participants would spend a great deal of time narrating their experiences. Pentecostalism emphasises the importance of experience, how the individual experiences the power of the Spirit and the life of Jesus Christ. I discovered that most of the participants were comfortable with beginning the narratives with the story of 'the power of God', the spiritual experiences of being born-again, Spirit-baptism and tongues-speaking (*see* Cartledge 2003:25). This is the point where I found it to be more convenient to turn the discussion to the problem of corruption under the broad theme of being 'morality and being born-again'. There were instances, however, where the 'story of faith' would take time, and a second interview was required to complete the story and introduce the main theme.

I found out that the life and conversion stories were so dear to the participants so much that ignoring or undermining them would close the door to further discussion. As an outsider, I was impressed by how the participants, passionately and in detail, spoke about their lives and the process of conversion and transformation. Like what Cartledge (2015:25) says, any research on Pentecostal and charismatic life should not ignore 'the narratives that people tell regarding their faith, as well as the use of symbols and practices' both at, 'personal and corporate level'. A challenge that faces any Pentecostal and charismatic scholar here is how to interpret these stories or narratives of faith. A researcher studying a Pentecostal or charismatic church should bear in mind that the kind of data he/she is likely to face is narrative in nature, 'a story about what happened and its consequences, rather a set of abstract propositions' (Cartledge 2010:17). Pentecostal spirituality is heavily narrative, and testimonies form the bulk of the narrative. During the research, it was discovered that listening patiently to stories about conversion and being born-again, stories that the researcher would, otherwise, regard as conceptually irrelevant could provide a wealth of information and data.

What is the meaning of these narratives of faith or conversion stories? Paul Atkinson (1997:325) warns researchers against the uncritical use of narrative interviewing. In his words, 'Narratives are regarded as offering the analyst privileged access to personal experience. It is suggested that an appeal to narratives too often includes inappropriate assumptions concerning human actors and social action'. One of the assumptions is that 'participants are "telling it like it is", that participants know who they are and what makes them tick […] and are willing and able to tell this to a stranger interviewer' (Hollway and

Jefferson 2000:2–3). But these narratives or conversion stories should not be quickly dismissed as just unreal and well-rehearsed stories but interpreted phenomenologically as social constructs and not necessarily as factual descriptions of the believer's life. As Gooren (2010:93) explains:

> A comprehensive conversion experience changes one's image. This transformation, which is a process taking longer than just one day or one week, is gradually reflected in the most important indicator of conversion: *biographical reconstruction*. People who undergo a conversion experience literally reconstruct their lives, giving new meanings to old events and putting different emphases in the bigger "plot" of their life stories.

2.4.3 Data Analysis, Storage and Preservation

All the interviews were recorded on my mobile phone since it was the most convenient way of capturing data. The recordings were accompanied by appropriate note taking. After recording the interviews, they were then converted to Microsoft file formats and saved on the computer. The interviews were transcribed *verbatim et literatim* and this took many hours and weeks and was quite labour intensive. Because of language barrier, most of the interviews were conducted in English, but it took me some time to understand what each participant was trying to communicate. In the light of the above, it is imperative to state here that all the participants in this study are anonymised to preserve confidentiality and they gave their consent not only to be recorded but also to take part in the study. The two churches (Kitwe-BLCI and Kwacha-PAOG), their pastors (pastors Mumba and Banda respectively), and the BLCI founding bishop Imakando are not anonymised because of their significance and importance to the study. Permission was also gained from the two pastors to observe and converse with their congregants.

The transcription of the interviews was followed by the initial listening of the recordings. After the initial listening of the recordings, there was a second listening accompanied by detailed transcriptions of each interview. These transcriptions were checked against the original recordings. Since most of the participants insisted on seeing the transcribed interviews before they were analysed, hard copies of the transcriptions were given to the participants to verify them as accurate records of their views. After the approval of the transcripts, I read and studied the data several times (*see also* Cresswell 2009/2003). This enabled me to familiarise myself with the data and to highlight outstanding themes. I used the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti. version 5.0 (©*Thomas Muhr, Atlas.ti Software Development* 2004) to code the interview data. Coding is an important process in the analysis of qualitative data. A code is a word or short phrase that is assigned to a phrase or thought (Clarke 2015:221). According to Johnny Saldaña (2011:95), a code 'symbolically assigns a

summative, salient, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data'.

To analyse the research data, this software was utilised to group interview transcripts into codes and then organise these codes into general themes that identified the content in relation to the research concern (*see also* Cresswell 2003; Glesne 1999:130; Berg 2009:186–9). The themes, together with quotations, were annotated with notes as the analysis progressed. What is important in this software is the retrieval function that allows paragraphs, quotations and sections to be retrieved easily using the assigned code. For instance, the codes 'Pentecostals', 'prosperity', 'corruption', 'greed', 'born-again', 'morality', 'transformation' were used and all the information that had been placed under this code was easily retrieved and viewed at the same time. From these detailed transcriptions and coding, thematic partial transcriptions were produced, highlighting and linking themes and issues from the interviews. After that, a complete, descriptive document of each theme was produced, after checking and verifying with the original recording and transcript.

All the digital data and the electronic version of the thesis shall be stored under the University of Groningen's *Windows University Workplace* (UWP) and will be saved and cited. The paper copies of the data and the thesis will be stored at the *Protestant Theological University* library, Amsterdam.

2.4.4 Ethical Considerations

As mentioned before, this study would not have taken place without the consensual participation of the Kitwe-BLCI and Kwacha-PAOG members. I informed all the participants that I was doing doctoral research and that the results of the study will be published. I also explained to them that they were free to pull out of the research at any time. Given the nature of the research, I did not ask for written consent as I thought that would intimidate and discourage potential participants. I ended up asking participants to give verbal consent to take part in the study. Asking for written consent is the norm in ethnographic and theological research, but of late, some researchers have argued that, in some contexts, written consent makes participants uncomfortable. During her research among Pentecostal and charismatic Christians in Kampala Uganda, Bremner (2013:222) found that asking her informants to sign consent forms was intimidating them since this practice was 'associated with authority and unwanted government or dominant institutional involvement'. She (Bremner 2013:222) explains her approach:

> My reasons for not seeking written consent were more prosaic [...]. In fact, it became apparent after making the decision to seek verbal consent that seeking written consent would have caused potential discomfort for some informants

> who were illiterate. By keeping the interview space as relaxed as possible for my informants then, and not asking them to sign anything.

Again, according to sociologists Rose Wiles, Graham Crow, Vikki Charles and colleagues (2007:7), several researchers today have noticed that

> the use of signed consent forms may compromise issues of confidentiality and anonymity which are important issues where participants are in need of protection. Participants may fear that signed consent forms could make the information they provide traceable to them which may put them at risk of physical harm (in the context of research topics such as domestic violence) or vulnerable to potential investigation and prosecution by the criminal justice system (in the case of illegal activities).

The issue of informed consent in ethnography/anthropology is one of the ethical quandaries dominating the discourse on research ethics today. According to Jane Zavisca (2007:129), the procedures that require participants to sign consent forms are obtrusive in ethnography. According to her (Zavisca 2007:132), 'In many field sites asking participants to sign consent forms would not only impede data collection, it could actually impose harm by violating local norms of what it means to give consent or to feel protected from harm'. The *American Anthropological Association* (AAA) (2004) supports this view when it suggested that the American *Institutional Review Board* 'should consider granting ethnographic waivers to written informed consent, and other appropriate means of obtaining informed consent should be utilized'. Weighing on in this ethical quandary, the *European Union Directorate-General for Research and Innovation* (Iphofen 2015:29) wrote:

> Research ethics committees often seek proof of consent having been properly sought and given by requiring the completion of a written, possibly signed and, in some cases, independently witnessed form. Such a highly formalized requirement seems sensible when a risk of harm to the participants may be anticipated. But it is also clear that such formality could alienate some potential participants who might fear the researcher is a representative of 'officialdom' and who might be wary of such engagements. Indeed, some anthropologists complain that they are aware that asking for a signature would be seen as offensive in the communities they study. In such communities it implies that the respondent is not trusted. While formal consenting may protect the researcher against any future charge of not giving adequate information, it is by no means legally binding and might not even guarantee the respondent's continued participation in a project. There is considerable 'fluidity' in consenting – it is not an event, it is a process.

Having seen that the participants in my study (even the pastors themselves) were uncomfortable with signing papers, I decided to take steps that I thought would better meet the spirit of informed consent. I informed the participants that

1. I was a doctoral student and not a journalist and that I was not a member of the church.
2. They will be anonymous, and their names will be altered to protect their identities.
3. The information will appear in an academic publication but anything that reveals their identities will be removed so that the information is not traced to any person.
4. They had the right to request the written transcripts of the interviews and to withdraw the information from being used in the research.
5. The interview recordings and transcripts will not be shared with anyone.
6. They were under no obligation to participate in the research and that they were at liberty to withdraw from participating in it.

2.5 Summary and Reflection

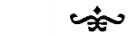
This chapter began with a reflection on studies done on Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia (§2.2). The relevant section noted that studies done on Pentecostal and charismatic movements in Zambia have covered nearly all dimensions of Pentecostal and charismatic life, from healing ministries to politics, save for one critical area: the Pentecostal engagement with the problem of corruption. The third section (§2.3) presented a detailed description of how the investigation for this study was approached. The research is described as an *ecclesiological ethnographic* case study of how Pentecostal churches conceptualised the problem of corruption. The fourth section (§2.4) took the reader through the practical details of the research methods on Kitwe Pentecostal churches, Kitwe-BLCI and Kwacha-PAOG. The section provided details on the selection of the study sites and recruitment of study participants, the fieldwork and interviews or conversions and the analysis of the data. The section justified the use of verbal consent as opposed to written consent on the basis that the latter would make the participants uncomfortable thereby impeding the progress of the research.

Two important aspects can be highlighted in this chapter. The first is that studying Pentecostal and charismatic churches can be a challenging enterprise, even more so when the study involves issues that are centred on personal behaviour and attitude. I believe that the success of a study of this nature depends solely on the way the theologian cultivates trust with the participants and the churches involved. This means putting one's cards on that table and being open about the nature of the study and how it will benefit the researcher and the churches being studied. In Zambia, many negative stories have been written about some Pentecostal and charismatic pastors and churches and this has led some Pentecostals to view suspiciously anyone purporting to be a researcher. A lot can be gained if the theologian approaches the churches with an open and uncritical mentality, respecting the Pentecostals and charismatics by regarding them as 'theologians' and not just reservoirs of data.

The second aspect is that Pentecostal and charismatic studies require more than just having an open and uncritical mind. There is a need for readiness to accept and accommodate

surprises since the movement is like a fast-moving current that needs not only an expert but also one who is willing to be swept by the current without being drowned. The theologian should be prepared for natural, unplanned and impromptu engagements that are sometimes regarded, in scientific quarters, as unprofessional and incongruous. In most cases, theologians would like to go along with the script, but Pentecostal and charismatic research sometimes demand live, raw and unscripted engagement because Pentecostalism itself emphasises spontaneity and emotionalism. In some cases, Pentecostal and charismatic studies require an understanding of the role of affection and feelings in faith and worship. I observed during the study that there were shifts in roles whereby, in some instances, I would lead the participants and, in others, I would allow the participants to 'lead' me. The Pentecostal and charismatic emphasis on openness and spontaneity are some of the elements that any (prospective) Pentecostal and charismatic scholar should take note of.

3. Corruption and New Pentecostal Faith



> The growing predominance of prosperity churches has complicated the role of Pentecostalism in the criticism of corruption. (DJ Smith 2007:213)

3.1 Introduction

Corruption and Pentecostalism are the central themes of this study (*see* chapter one) and this chapter attempts to create a theoretical relationship between the two. The main argument in this chapter is that there is no causal and empirically proven link between Pentecostal faith and corrupt behaviour. Hence, the best way, in my opinion, to understand the relationship between Pentecostal spirituality and the believers' conceptions of corrupt behaviour is to do a discursive study that examines the construction of the believers' ethical framework. This argument is divided into three main sections. After this introduction (§3.1), section two (§3.2) discusses the problem of corruption by examining the various approaches driving research in corruption studies. The same section also highlights the socio-cultural dimensions of corruption apropos sub-Saharan Africa (§3.2.2). The point in this sub-section is that, though the dynamics of corruption are socially constructed and construed, the meaning of corruption is not dependent on cultural practices and beliefs. The third section (§3.3) argues that since religion is a strong force behind the transfer of norms from the individual to institutions, faith communities can create social norms that can be positive, negative or neutral. The fourth section (§3.4) applies this framework to Pentecostalism by examining the economic dimensions of the prosperity-oriented Pentecostal faith.

3.2 Understanding Corruption: Faces, Shades and Boundaries

Corruption is a much-talked and much-discussed phenomenon today, especially in the Global South. Although there is agreement on the urgent need to curb corruption, the same cannot be said about what constitutes a corrupt and non-corrupt act (Amundsen 1999:1). No one knows where to draw the boundaries of corruption: they seem to be blurred or ambivalent. Apart from that, social and political scientists (including international organisations) have, sometimes, presented conflicting definitions and this seems to complicate the understanding of corruption thus bringing more confusion to an already

complex discourse.[17] This section is a literature survey on the societal antecedents of corruption that influence the individual's moral or ethical decision-making process.

3.2.1 Theoretical Considerations

One of the problems associated with corruption studies is that its definition largely depends on the geographical location, one's interpretation and experience, and the social-cultural norms within a society. Apart from the socio-cultural complications, Arnold Heidenheimer (2002a:152) attributes the definitional problems to the different shades that corruption takes and the complex processes of decision-making. He (Heidenheimer 2002a:152) classifies corruption into three categories, namely, 'black' corruption, 'grey' corruption and 'white' corruption. In his own words:

> "black corruption" indicates that in that setting that particular action is one in which a majority consensus of both elite and mass opinion would condemn and would want to see punished on grounds of principle. "Grey corruption" indicates that some elements, usually elites, may want to see the action punished, others not, and the majority may well be ambiguous. "White corruption" signifies that the majority of both elite and mass opinion probably would not vigorously support an attempt to punish a form of corruption that they regard as tolerable.

Now, how do we define corruption? Several classifications and typologies of corruption have been proposed in recent years. Outstanding among these are James Scott and Heidenheimer's typologies of corruption definition. The former (Scott, cited in Sandholtz and Koetzle 2000:31–50) classifies definitions of corruption into 'legal-norms', 'public opinion' and 'public-interest' whilst the latter (Heidenheimer 2002a:2–4) categorises them as 'public-office-centred', 'market-centred' and 'public-interest centred'. The first group, the 'legal norm' or 'public-office-centred' definitions, understands corruption as the behaviour that deviates from normal duties or violates rules (Heidenheimer 1989:3–14). An example of this definition is the one given by the Harvard political science professor Joseph Nye (2002:284). He understands corruption as the 'behaviour that deviates from the normal duties of public role because of private-regarding (family, close private cliques), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence' (*see also* Bardhan 1997:1321). The University of London economic professor Mushtaq Khan (1996:12) further expands this definition by adding that corruption is the 'behaviour that deviates from the formal rules of conduct governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding motives such as wealth, power, or status'.

17 There is vast literature on corruption that can be consulted. Some of the works that have shaped discussions on corruption are Heidenheimer and Johnston 2002; Heidenheimer, Johnston and Levine 1989; Tressman 2000; Tullock 1996; Amundsen 1999; Andvig 2008; Andvig and Fjeldstad 2001; Rose-Ackerman 1978; 1999 and 2006; Tanzi 1998.

The second group, the 'public-opinion' or 'market-centred' definitions, highlights corruption as a deliberate and rational behaviour of maximising profit by a public officer. An example of this definition is given by Jacob van Klaveren (1970) who says that:

> […] corruption means that a civil servant abuses his authority in order to obtain an extra income from the public [...]. Thus we will conceive of corruption in terms of a civil servant who regards his office as a business, the income of which he will [...] seek to maximize. The office then becomes a "maximizing unit". (cited in Philip 2002:49)

The third group, the 'public-interest' definitions, views corruption as a practice or behaviour that goes against the common interest. Here the society defines both corruption and what is considered as common or public interest. Corrupt situations are those in which there is a conflict or divergence between the interests of a principal (for instance, the state) and those of the public official or civil servant (Kurer 2005:226). Carl Friedrich (2002:15) offers a 'public-interest' definition that says that corruption exists 'whenever a power holder [...] or office holder, is by monetary or other rewards [...] induced to take actions which favour whoever provides the reward and thereby damage the group or organization to which the functionary belongs, more specifically the government'.

Apart from classifying corruption into different types, other scholars define corruption by highlighting the characteristics or elements that make up a corrupt act. For instance, Wayne Sandholtz and William Koetzle (2000:34–5) point out that any suitable definition of corruption should have three elements: a clear distinction between the public and private space, the involvement of an inducement to a public official in return for some advantages and the acknowledgement that such exchanges go against the accepted norms or public ethics. Jens Andvig (2008:10) says that corrupt activities have four elements: they are made possible by an actor's public position; they violate an accepted given law or public norm, *ipso facto* giving material advantage to the actor; and are a disadvantage to the institution the actor represents. In addition to that, Mark Philip (2002:42) states that corruption is present where: (a) there is a public official who violates public trust, (b) in such a way that public interests are violated, (c) when he/she willingly and knowingly exploits his/her position for personal gain and, (d) thereby benefiting another party who does not deserve such favours.

In the same way, the Miami-based management professor Yadong Luo (2007: 77) argues that there are certain universal elements characterising corruption. According to him, corruption is context-based, norm-deviated, power-related, virtually covert, intentional and perceptional. Luo (2007:76–77) points out that the central element in corruption is that it is an illegal and secret transaction involving personal gain. Since the culprit is in a position of power, this gives him/her discretionary powers in transactions. Corruption is perceptual in the sense that 'it relates to individual behaviour as perceived by the public as well as political authorities. Since it is a perceptual term judged by others, the concept becomes dynamic, subject to

changes in social attitudes and political ideologies. As such, corruption can be further classified as "white", "black", or "grey"' (2007:77).

Whether we attempt to construct a fixed definition or identify corruption by its characteristics, the theoretical assumptions seem to be the same. Firstly, corruption is a clear indication that something is wrong with the management or administration of public services. Secondly, corruption involves some form of exchange whereby an individual offers inducement to a person holding public office in exchange of some advantages, or the public official asks for some rewards from individuals in exchange for access to public services. Thirdly, these exchanges are a violation of the accepted rules, norms or ethics that govern the execution of public duties and administration of public services (Sandholtz and Koetzle 2000:31–50). Fourthly, these exchanges are considered illegal because they benefit people who, under normal circumstances, are not supposed to benefit from public services (Philip 2008:316).

The conventional definition of corruption understands corruption as 'the abuse/misuse of public power/office for private gain/benefit'. This definition dominates the academic discourse, is generally accepted around the world, and, in some ways, defines the operations of international organisations and political institutions (*see World Bank* 1997:8; *United Nations Development Programme* 2008: 7). For instance, Zambia's *Anti-Corruption Act of 2012* (NAZ 2012: part 1, article 3) defines corruption as 'the soliciting, accepting, obtaining, giving, promising or offering of a gratification by way of a bribe or other personal temptation or inducement, or the misuse or abuse of a public office for advantage or benefit for oneself or another person'. According to this definition, corruption arises when someone representing the state, a public official, civil servant, a bureaucrat or a politician, misuses public resources for personal gain. This view holds that corruption is a product of an illegal action (*see* Johnston 2001:21). In this case, corruption is the personal wealth-seeking action of a public official, making it a predominantly public sector phenomenon. The focus is on the action of a public official who takes advantage of his/her position of authority to allocate or distribute public resources for personal benefit.

According to this definition, corruption is an interface between public funds and private gain. Here there is an assumption that most of the transactions and activities associated with corruption are predominantly economic. Corruption arises when, like what Susan Rose-Ackerman (1978:106) says, 'some third person, who can benefit by the agent's actions, seeks to influence the agent's decision by offering him a monetary payment which is not passed on to the principal'. Refining the conventional definition, Rose-Ackerman (1996) defines corruption as 'an illegal payment to a public agent to obtain a benefit that may or may not be deserved in the absence of pay-offs' (cited in Brown 2006:62). Rose-Ackerman's definition of corruption focuses on the initiators of corruption, those who induce the public official by offering bribes to circumvent or bypass the normal procedure in accessing public resources. However, this does not make the public official an unwilling participant in the illegal activities. The public official may solicit or accept a reward, favour, or gift, from a third

person, in the distribution or supply of public services (Rose-Ackerman 1978:6). Thus, corruption is not simply an agent-principal relationship but also a 'public official-public-third party' relationship. This triad of relations makes both the briber and bribed equally blameworthy in the commission of corruption.

Despite the universal applicability of the legal understanding of corruption, some social scientists have criticised it on the basis that, in some contexts, this definition may not adequately describe corruption. One problem that has been mentioned in corruption literature is how to define 'abuse' or 'misuse' and to separate corruption from other illegal practices like theft or misappropriation. One way of defining 'misuse' is by stressing what is acceptable or unacceptable situations. But the problem here is that if these local standards are not shared and accepted by other cultures and socio-political systems the whole definition becomes relative like 'what we regard as misuse here' (Philip 2008:312). Another problem concerns the classification of the misuse of public resources because not all misuse of public power is corruption. Here the argument is that there should be a classification of the type of misuse that leads to corruption. Since it is an over-generalisation to say that all misuse of public power is corruption, the reference here is to 'a particular type of misuse (or subset of abuses) that distinguishes corruption from other types of misdemeanour' (2008:311). Again, some have argued against identifying corruption with economic crimes on the basis that whilst corrupt activities may have an economic character, one cannot argue that this aspect, for all practical purposes, explains what corruption is (Miller and Blacker 2005:113–4; *see also* Miller 2004:4; Tanzi 1998:564; Gardiner 2002:25).

In addition to that, some scholars have also underlined the point that 'corruption is not at bottom simply a matter of law; rather it is fundamentally a matter of morality' (Miller and Blacker 2005:113). Heather Marquette from Birmingham University has persistently argued that corruption is more of a moral than a legal problem. 'In the donor-led discourse on corruption', she (Marquette 2010:6) argued, 'there is no sense of the moral complexity surrounding decisions to act corruptly or not; certainly, morality has been stripped away from much of the contemporary debate about corruption'. The argument here is that the moral dimension is the missing cog in the corruption discourse because the problem of corruption is more a symptom of the decay of the moral value system rather than of socio-political institutions. For one to understand Marquette's argument, it is important to understand the relationship between corruption and morality because the borderline between corruption and morality is sometimes very thin indeed.

Morality (or a moral system) is understood here as a system of values (or desired attitudes) that a people employ, consciously and unconsciously, to enforce principles of right and wrong (Ochulor et al. 2011:22). An immoral action then is an act that goes against the moral standards accepted by a community or society (Ochulor and Bassey 2010:468–70). While immoral and corrupt-related actions may be employed interchangeably in certain discourses, not all immoral actions can be classified as corrupt. According to Seusmas Miller and John Blacker (2005:60–1), a corrupt action is a moral issue in the sense that it affects one's

principles of right and wrong. An action can only be classified as corrupt if it has a causal effect on a person's moral character (of the briber and the bribed) or the moral values of an institution (2005:114–8). The moral definition of corruption understands corruption as the corrosion of the moral character of the person who has institutional or societal responsibilities thereby affecting his/her principles of right and wrong, good and bad. According to Michael Dion (2010:52), corruption, in all its forms and types, is a symptom of a disease caused by the corrosion of moral principles.

The idea that corruption is a moral problem is also discernible in the biblical usage of the concept. In the Old Testament, the word that is used to convey the concept of corruption is the Greek word *phtheiro* (φθείρω) that is used in place of the Hebrew word *šā·hat*. The word *šā·hat* generally means to turn something that was originally in a good state into filth (*see* Renn 2005:212; Wolff 2011:145). The word *phtheiro* means to ruin or spoil something in terms of moral influence. The same line of thought is visible in the New Testament. The material world is liable to change and decay and this is contrasted with the incorruptible inheritance of the believers (Romans 8.21; 1 Peter 1.4,23). Two dimensions of the New Testament use of *phtheiro* are significant here. The first is that *phtheiro* means to bring something into a worse state. *Phtheiro* is used in this sense to describe the effect of evil or sinful environment on the life of the believers. The second is that *phtheiro* is also used with reference to lead someone or a Christian community from a state or condition of holiness and doctrinal purity (1 Corinthians 15.33; 2 Corinthians 11.3; 1 Timothy 6.5; 2 Timothy 3.8; Ephesians 4.22; Revelation 11.8). What is distinctive about the biblical usage, however, is that corruption is understood as:

> something spoiled: something sound that has been made defective, debased, and tainted; something that has been pushed off course into a worse or inferior form. Whoever corrupts set out to make something impure and less capable, an adverse departure from an expected course. When applied to human relations, corruption is bad influence, an injection of rottenness or decay, a decline in moral conduct and personal integrity attributable to venality or dishonesty. (Caiden 2007:78)

In concluding this section, it must be admitted that corruption is a global threat and a major obstacle to socio-economic progress. Although corruption is a global problem, there seems to be no coherent and comprehensive anti-corruption approach that cuts across all disciplines. A critical perusal of current literature on corruption reveals a deliberate bias towards the legal and economic strategies. However, the moral dimension of corruption seems to have largely been ignored or is just mentioned in passing, in the current corruption discourse. Although corruption mainly surfaces and is visible in a state-individual relationship, an emphasis on the institutional dimension does not adequately answer the basic question: what motivates individuals to engage in corrupt activities?

Following the above question, one is bound to ask: is there any approach that could persuade people to be less greedy and corrupt since legal and political strategies do not seem to provide

enough persuasion? In the current discourse, the basic argument is that corruption stems from the fact that people are selfish and profit-driven and, thus, the panacea for curbing corruption is to encourage people to be less selfish. Stephen Schwenke (2000:154) argues that what motivate people to engage in corrupt activities may not necessarily be profit or gain but values and norms around them. These values and norms, if unchecked, could erode the individual's principles of right and wrong, justice, and fairness. In the same vein, Norman Geisler and Peter Bocchino (2010:358) pointed out that 'The root cause of the character disorders (moral corruption) [...] is directly associated with a person's refusal to acknowledge and act upon what is morally right and reject what is morally wrong'. While immoral values could persuade an individual to be corrupt, moral values could be a powerful persuasion of the opposite.

3.2.2 Socio-Cultural Dimensions

The preceding section concludes that corruption is a moral problem and that the legal-centred definitions underestimate the dynamics of corruption. This section argues that the dynamics of corruption are, in most cases, socially and culturally instrumentalised. Culture is one of the major obstacles to the universal applicability of the conventional definition of corruption. In the Global South, corruption is difficult to define because 'issues of impropriety and abuse, greed and dishonesty may not apply at all. The cultural context is therefore critical, making the establishment of at least some cross-cultural standards problematic' (Schwenke 2000:154). In other words, what criteria would one use to declare a behaviour as socially un/acceptable? (Miller 2004:6). What level of social consensus is needed before an activity is declared corrupt and immoral?

According to the TI *Corruption Perception Index* of 2012, countries in sub-Saharan Africa are prone to corruption because there are cultural traits that make people susceptible to corruption. Several scholars have argued that cultural norms, values and practices influence ethnic ties and contribute greatly to the problem of corruption (Bauer 2000:219; Johnston 2005:18; Hussein 2005:95; Blundo and De Sardan 2006:70; Lodge 2002:419–20). In tradition-bound countries, where strong interpersonal relationships are stressed there is little, and sometimes, no distinction between public and private roles and responsibilities. In these contexts, public officials find it difficult, if not impossible, to see themselves merely as public figures and not as friends or relatives. Personal ties and rewarding friends for services rendered are considered indispensable in everyday transactions (Rose-Ackerman 1978:106; Schwenke 2013:154; Theron 2013:4).

In Africa, corruption is a complex term that is deep-rooted in webs of value systems and cultural norms. Here corruption has more to do with the social norms that influence or give justification to practices of corruption (De Sardan 1999a:26). Corruption must be understood in the context of various techniques or illicit practices that, from a technical point of view,

cannot be termed 'corrupt'. These practices have the same roots with corruption in that they 'contradict the official ethics of 'public property' or 'public service', and likewise offer the possibility of illegal enrichment, and the use and abuse to this end of positions of authority' (1999a:27). Such a person is forced to opt for a bribe instead of accessing services through the 'normal channel' of mutual assistance and exchanging favours.

In the first place, corruption benefits from the *culture of negotiation or bargaining* (1999a:36). Bargaining here refers to the negotiation regarding the rules that govern everyday transactions, legal and social issues. These rules are selected and modified according to the matter at hand. Corruption as an object of bargaining involves negotiation of the rules and the way they should be interpreted and applied (1999a:37). Secondly, in Africa, many people believe in what could be called *redistributive accumulation*. This concept is linked to the socio-cultural networks that are important in African societies today. These networks, which go beyond the family ties, strengthen the ties between individuals and create a bond or norms that bring people together. The cardinal rule of these networks is that one is obliged to assist others within the network who are also obliged to help when one is in need. Therefore, there is a general obligation for mutual assistance. This means that nepotism and private use of public resources is socially and culturally accepted if the benefits are enjoyed by the extended family and social network. The community will consider it as foolishness if one refuses to grab the opportunity to accumulate wealth and this is not seen as corruption if one does so. In some contexts, accumulation of wealth for the sake of spreading it around is never considered immoral; rather it is seen as a virtue.

Again, corruption benefits from a *culture of gift-giving and social exchanges* (1999a:38). Gifts are part of everyday social life in African societies and, through them, people demonstrate good manners and generosity (Theron 2013:5). Refusing to reciprocate or show gratitude for services or favours from one's neighbours is culturally considered as a sign of greediness or bad neighbourliness and might close the door to future collaborations (Blundo and De Sardan 2006:98). Since gifts are meant to build or cement relationships and a sign of gratitude, there is a temptation to view the payments to public officials in the same way (2006:98). According to Maurice Dassah (2008:45), a social scientist from the University of KwaZulu Natal, the problem today is that the culture of gift-giving has changed from being given after services have been rendered to being a condition for rendering services. Petra Theron (2013:5) points out that 'As soon as the aim of a gift is to create an unjust advantage to distort justice or create expectations, it may facilitate corruption'.

To understand these cultural practices, one has to bear in mind that African societies are believed to be '*communal societies*' where the group and its solidarity are more important than the individual and his/her needs (Jensen and Gaie 2010:297). It is believed that communalism has contributed immensely to social order, integrity and fullness of life in African societies (Okonkwo 2010:96). However, Bennie van der Walt (2003:406) argues that communalism could make African societies prone to corruption. According to him, communalism distorts the distinction between private and public funds and puts people

under immense financial pressure. In a communal society, one is obliged to take care of one's family, immediate and extended. The bigger the family, the bigger the circle of people one is obliged to assist and the greater the number of people one can call upon in times of need. This pressure from the extended family system may cause one to be involved in corrupt activities to meet the economic needs of the family (Dassah 2003:46–7). The communal moral order, that demands 'services' and 'counter-services', often generates favouritism, nepotism, tribalism and corruption (O' Donovan 2000:11; Hussein 2005:95).

Now, what is the relationship between African cultural practices and corruption? The previous paragraphs have pointed out that, in Africa, corruption is culturally instrumentalised because, to use the words of Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardhan, some 'cultural logics' have the potential to be instruments of corruption. Does this mean corruption can directly be imputed to these practices? Like what has been pointed above, public servants in Africa do not always regard their actions as 'corrupt' even if they are legally viewed as corrupt. With cultural obligations (to 'assist' one's family and friends) on the one side, and professional obligation (to be impartial) on the other, the public servant is caught in a moral dilemma (Klitgaard 2017:3). According to Terrance McConnell (2014), the public servant feels guilty if he 'believes that he has done something wrong […]. Since no matter what the agent does he will appropriately experience remorse or guilt, then no matter what he does he will have done something wrong. Thus, the agent faces a genuine moral dilemma'. Robert Klitgaard (2017:4) describes this situation as a 'culturally conditioned clash of values' because 'around the world, the problem is not that people in certain cultures *approve* of corruption. It is rather that they perceive conflicts between values' (emphasis original).

The fact that there are cultures that predispose people to act in ways that we call corrupt does not necessarily mean that there is a cultural obligation to prioritise kinship above public interests. In his survey of villages in India, Stein Widmalm (2005:774) found out that 'corruption is not accepted by most people in the survey; most respondents favour a rule-governed bureaucracy within a democratic setting, regardless of whether the society is plagued by corruption or not' (*see also* Akhil 1995; De Sardan 1999a:26–7 and 1999b:44). Although the impact of these cultural practices on the conceptualisation of corruption cannot be denied, one should guard against over-contextualising the conception and dynamics of corruption. If the meaning of corruption is dependent solely on one's ideology, culture and context then one could conclude that there is no corruption at all. Admittedly, each society draws legal-illegal and moral-immoral boundaries differently, but those boundaries are not elastic since there is always a limit to what is contained in them.

3.3 Religion and Corruption

Corrupt activities, whether motivated by economic gains or otherwise, are anchored in relations. In most cases, kinship and social relationships determine one's accessibility to

opportunities and resources in both the public and private sectors (Mutale 2008:27). In social sciences, social capital is a concept that is employed to explain the dynamics and importance of relations. The basic idea behind social capital '[...] can be summed up in two words: relationships matter. By making connections with one another, and keeping them going over time, people are able to work together to achieve things that they either could not achieve by themselves, or could only achieve with great difficulty' (Field 2013:1). It pays for one to be connected and the more one is connected (or the bigger the network) the higher the returns.[18] This concept, as it is used today, first appeared in Lyda Hanifan's 1916 study of rural community schools (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:228) though James Farr (2004:19) attributes it to the American philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952). After Hanifan, it took the works of Jane Jacobs, Pierre Bourdieu, Jean Claude Persson, Glenn Loury, James Coleman and Robert Putnam for the concept to gain popularity in academic circles. This concept is important in understanding why and how one subscribes to corrupt social norms. In this case, corruption can be understood as the social capital that is bent on promoting selfish and personal (or even kinship/family) interests at the expense of the community.

Some of the most influential cultural networks today are faith communities. In the Global South, many people claim that religion is important in their lives especially in the creation of positive social norms and values. Through their teachings and moral guidance, religions instil in the believers qualities that are the bedrock of a moral society. Whilst there is no doubt that faith communities generate more positive norms and values than any other institution in the society, some forms of religious belonging have been accused of providing 'rational impetus' for genocides, racism and other social ills. Since the main objective of this study is to examine the interface between Pentecostal spirituality and the problem of corruption, the question that begs some answers is: what is the relationship between being Pentecostal and charismatic and the formation and building of pro/anti-corruption norms and values?

3.3.1 Faith Communities and Social Engagement

Putnam, a renowned American political scientist, played a pivotal role in popularising the concept of social capital among researchers and scholars today. Putnam's most famous work is the 1995 article 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital'. This was later expanded into *Bowling Alone*: *The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000). Putnam's theory of social capital was based on his study of the performance of institutions in Italy and the American civic society. For Putnam (et al. 1993:167), social capital has three

18 It is impossible to discuss here in-depth the concept of social capital and all its dimensions. Apart from Putnam's works that are referred to in this section, the following literature can be consulted for further information: Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Woolcock and Narayan 1999; Woolcock 1998; Portes 1998; Smith and Kulynych 2002; Schuster, Baron and Field 2000; Smidt 2003; Field 2003; Halpern 2005; Lin 2001; Prakash and Selle 2004; Adler and Kwon 2000; Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998; Burt 2000; Robison, Schmid and Siles 2002.

elements: social norms and obligation, trust, and voluntary associations or networks. What lies behind these three elements are relations and the benefits that come out of them (*see also* Portes 1998; Narayan and Cassidy 2001:59–102). Thus, Putnam (2000:56) defines social capital as 'features of social life-networks, norms, and trust-that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' with an emphasis on reciprocity.

Although Putnam's understanding of social capital has been criticised for lack of clarity and theoretical refinement (Furbey, Dinham, Farnell et al. 2006:6; Portes 1998:2; Leonard 2004), the centre of his thesis is that associations play an important role in the production of social capital and this, in turn, explains civic participation and the general well-being of the civic society. The three elements of social capital are practically connected in the sense that trust acts as a lubricant in cooperation and norms as 'the unwritten rules of conduct of a certain group (or community) of people [...] the concrete elaborations of the group's values' (Den Butter and Mosch 2005:2–3). According to Putnam (2000:73), social networks instil and reinforce within group members, norms like reciprocity, trustworthiness, cooperation, solidarity and this, consequently, increases the level of tolerance within a group or community. Social capital is not only a resource that results from individual connectedness, argues Putnam (2000:67), but is also a benefit of collective action. Therefore, 'life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital'.

Let us begin our discussion in this section with Putnam's theory of religion and social capital. Putnam's argues that taking part in community activities leads to an increase in productivity and happiness. Being part of a network of people whom you can trust is of great benefit not only to the individual but also to members outside the network itself. Putnam (2000:66) thought that churches constitute the most common type of organisation in the West and are 'arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America'. His (Putnam 2000:66) evidence also shows that 'nearly half of all associational memberships in America are church related, half of all personal philanthropy is religious in character, and half of all volunteering occurs in a religious context' (*see also* Knight 2003:5).

According to Putnam (2000:68–9), there is a link between religious belonging and the increase in civic engagement. He argues that churches are the institutions that have the most effect on civic skills, civic norms and community interests. The individual takes the skills acquired from churches and uses them in other activities outside these institutions (2000:66–7). Churches enhance personal faith and the ability to connect to others through religious activities, a connection that motivates an individual to participate in activities within and outside the church. Putnam (1995:66–7) noted that the decrease in church attendance and membership in recent years, the less emphasis on communal identity and commitment, the reduction of commitment to a single congregation and denomination have led to the reduction in participation in social activities. He (Putnam 1995:67–8) also noted that though 'Religious affiliation is by far the most common associational membership among Americans [...] religious sentiment in America seems to be becoming somewhat less tied to institutions and more self-defined'. In another study, Putnam, Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Nanetti

(1993) argues that this situation is likely to change with the emergence of mega-churches on the American religious scene.

Despite Putnam's ground-breaking work on religion and social capital, Corwin Smidt (2003:2) points out that political and social scientists have largely ignored the role played by faith communities in capital formation. Many researchers regard faith communities as just mere associations. Others see in faith communities 'an eclipse of reason and in religious motivation a constraint on enlightened social behaviour [...] thus, in much social science literature there is an aversion to treating religion as the basis for progressive social solidarity' (Candland 2000:129–30). In recent years, however, many researchers are beginning to understand faith communities as one of the promoters and builders of social capital and many of them have discovered a link between participation in faith communities, beliefs and community engagement (Coleman 2003:33). One of the ways in which faith communities contribute to social capital is that they provide the community at large with services and resources like giving social support and network (Smidt 2003:2). Again, religious beliefs shape the nature and character of one's associational life. Religious doctrines affect the way one views and relates to others within and outside the faith community and the way one prioritises one's socio-political life. Religious behaviour motivates people to volunteer and contribute to charitable organisations (2003:2,11–12).

Like Smidt, Ram Cnaan, Stephanie Boddie and Gaynor Yancey (2003:20) argue that norms of social capital found in faith communities have more positive than negative externalities.[19] These norms provide stability, conformity and social order to volatile and chaotic communities. Faith communities also contribute to the development of social networks in communities (2003:21). Being involved in a faith community increases one's chances of being integrated into the community and internalises the norms and activities of the community (2003:23). According to them (Smidt 2003:25), faith communities have five factors that contribute to human and social capital-building. These are:

1. the group needs of congregants which can be met by actively joining other congregants in extra-worship activities,
2. the historical disestablishment of religion which necessitates the entrepreneurial spirit of congregants,
3. the homogeneity of congregants as a key factor in the willingness of congregants to donate money and volunteer alongside people like themselves,
4. the presence of religious teachings that emphasize social responsibility, and
5. the changing ecology of local associations, which left the religious congregations as the primary local institution.

19 An externality is an economic term that refers to the cost of an activity that affects a party who is not related to that activity. A negative externality occurs when the said party pays for the cost of the activity without enjoying the benefits. A positive externality occurs when the party enjoys the benefits of the activity without paying the cost.

Although different faith communities promote different norms and values, scholars generally agree that simply coming together either as a group or association is the most popular, visible and effective form of social network. Thus, when people join a social club, they are not looking for connections but a community (Knight 2003:5). As a result, when one joins a faith community one is accepting 'a set of the norms-including the norms of contributing to the building of human and social capital and of being willing to participate in civic affairs' (2003:5).

3.3.2 Religion and the Perception of Corruption

It is a common view among scholars that some religious traditions seem to foster the rule of law and positively shape communal and individual morals and norms (*see* Woodberry and Shah 2004; Stark 2001). David Nice (1983) argued that corruption in society is an extension of private behaviour in the public sphere (cited in Flavin and Ledet 2008:4). Therefore, countries with less religious populations might be less '"virtuous" than states with more religious populations, and this difference likely extends to the public sector and to government performance' (2008:4). Patrick Flavin and Richard Ledet (2008:5) reckon that the social nature of religious belonging and worship may promote less corruption in government. Religious belonging is likely to help citizens build generalised trust[20] that has been linked to quality governance and less corruption.

Daniel Tressman (2000:410) discovered two ways in which faith communities affect corruption. Firstly, faith traditions influence cultural attitudes towards social hierarchy. The culture of monitoring officeholders might be more common in Protestantism than in 'hierarchical religions' like Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. Secondly, the way faith communities affect corruption depends on the level of relationship between religion and state. In his opinion (Tressman 2000:411), non-hierarchical, equalitarian and individualistic religions like Protestantism 'may play a role in monitoring and denouncing abuses by state officials. [...] where church and state hierarchies are closely intertwined, such a role may be absent'. Tressman's argument is that non-hierarchical faith communities reduce corruption because they assist in organising a civil society where citizens are more likely to monitor public officials. However, Johann Lambsdorff (2002:232–3) does not agree with this view and argues that in fact, hierarchical structures in some faith communities enable these communities to fight corruption easily.

In support of Tressman's theory, Thomas Herzfeld and Christoph Weiss (2003:628) found that Protestantism has a positive effect on lowering corruption in a society. This can be explained by the fact that Protestantism emphasises individual responsibility and equality and that would mean less tolerance of corruption (2003:44). Rafael La Porta and colleagues (1997)

20 Generalised trust is the belief that most people can be trusted. It is different from particularised trust that means you trust only people who share the same beliefs and values as yourself.

in their study of a sample of thirty-three countries examined the role of religion in contributing to the level of corruption and came to the same conclusion. They (La Porta et al. 1997:337) reported that hierarchical and organised religions (like Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy) lead to greater corruption, lower quality bureaucracies and less civic engagement. They also reported a positive correlation between belonging to hierarchical religions and corruption. Martin Paldam (2001) carried out a comprehensive analysis of the impact of religion when he tested the impact of different religious groups on corruption. His results revealed that in countries with a large proportion of 'Reform' Christianity (that is, Protestants and Anglicans), corruption is lower whilst higher levels of corruption characterise countries that are heavily influenced by 'Pre-Reform' Christianity (that is, Catholicism and Orthodoxy). 'Reform' Christians are less corrupt because, in Paldam's (2001:383–414) opinion, Protestantism values honesty and industriousness, and thus contributes to economic growth and less corruption.

In a related study, Charles North and Carl Gwin (2006:17) discovered that whilst countries that are dominated by Protestantism have a higher rule of law and lower corruption, countries that are dominated by Independent Christians have a very low rule of law (but, at the same time, his study showed that Independent Christians themselves were highest in corruption). In another study, Douglas Beets (2007:80) discovered that when countries are put together according to religion, there is a difference in the perception and levels of corruption and that the most corrupt countries are those without any dominant religion. The argument that non-hierarchical religions are associated with economically relevant outcomes is consistent with statistical evidence (*see* Clark 1975; Bollen and Jackman 1985; Hadenius 1992; Heidenheimer 1996:337; Grier 1997; La Porta et al. 1997; Lipset and Lenz 2000; Jain 2001; Woodberry and Shah 2004; Dreher, Kotsogiannis and McCorriston 2007:7; Tusalem 2009). Are people who profess to be religious less likely to be involved in corrupt activities and, vice versa? Evidence from North America seem to suggest that people who attend church regularly are less likely to be involved in crime, bribery, tax cheating, corruption and so on (*see* Lipford, McCormick and Tollison 1993; Johnson, Jang, De Li et al. 2000; Regnerus and Elder 2003; Gatti et al. 2003; Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales 2003).

However, it is not very easy to link religion and corruption because of some reasons. Robert Woodberry (2009:163) observed that '[…] religion is not the only factor that influences corruption and once social expectations and institutions are in place, they do not rapidly change'. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of the study done by Moamen Gouda and Sang-Min Park (2004:11) who found that 'although there is a statistically significant association, the effect of religiosity on the acceptance of corruption is very small in magnitude'. In fact, according to the 2018 *World Happiness Index* (Helliwell, Layard and Sachs 2018) report, the world's happiest countries are the world's least religious countries. Another problem is what Tara Polzer (2001) calls the 'common sense fallacy' that takes it for granted that religious values lead to non-corrupt behaviour. The problem with this fallacy is that 'it does not describe what happens [...] actors talk as though the model were true [...]' (cited in Marquette 2010:18). The other problem is that although religious groups have been

at the forefront in the fight against corruption, there are corruption scandals involving religious groups, especially religious leaders. Further, some people make a mistake of equating religion and morality. When it comes to morality, one should be aware of the distinction between private and public morality. Marquette (2010:19) points out that religion seems to have more impact on private than public morality.

These studies reveal an immense scholarly interest in the relationship between religion, social capital and corruption. Religions have contributed, and do contribute, to the formation of positive social norms and values that have transformed and built societies. At the same time, the evidence seems to point to the fact that belonging to certain religions can also generate negative norms and values. Donna Harris (2007:5) argues that faith communities reduce the radius of trust and this increases what is called *amoral familism* or, 'the feeling of obligation to help and to give resources to persons to whom one has personal obligation, to the family above all but also to friends and close peer groups'. *Amoral familism* generates negative norms and values that sometimes led to catastrophic results for some societies. As I have pointed earlier, violence, gender and ethnic discrimination, cultism and dishonest practices have all been associated with certain religious teachings.

Marquette's argument is noteworthy here. According to her (Marquette 2010:10), the relationship between religion and corruption is more discursive than causal. A discursive relationship is one in which one is convinced to act in a certain way or to avoid certain actions. A direct causal relationship between religion and corruption is difficult to prove either by quantitative or qualitative studies. What needs to be done, in the context of this study, is a discursive exploration of how certain Christian values, teachings and moral standards affect the way the believers' conceptualise corruption.

3.4 The Economic Dimensions of Pentecostal Faith

The first section of this chapter has defined corruption as the illegal exchange whereby an official in a position of trust is induced or demands reward in the administration of public service (*see* §3.2). The argument behind this definition is that, in most cases, corruption involves economic gains or rewards. The second section (§3.3) pointed out that, despite the economic nature of corruption, relationships also play a pivotal role in shaping one's understanding of corruption. Understanding the nature of relationships helps in understanding why some people think that offering or soliciting bribes, though it is a morally and ethically debased action, is not, in some contexts, a criminally prosecutable behaviour. The same section argues that while faith communities generally contribute positively to the formation of civility, they can also, discursively, promote and legitimate antisocial norms and values.

When discussing religion and social norms and values today, one cannot ignore the impact of Pentecostalism on the lives of the people. This movement is one of the fastest growing and most vivacious trends of Christianity globally. This section examines the dynamics of Pentecostal and charismatic economic culture.

3.4.1 Pentecostalism and the 'Prosperity Gospel'

The prosperity gospel is one of the most prominent and influential themes of Pentecostal Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa today. The Zambian president Chiluba, who was famous for embracing and promoting this gospel (most probably for political than for spiritual reasons), believed that a nation that is led by a God-fearing leader would prosper economically. Speaking to a church audience in 1997, Chiluba (cited in Drew Smith 1999:539) called on the Christians 'to work hard and not to continue begging because there was no poverty in heaven'. This is the teaching that has dominated Pentecostal discourses in Zambian churches today.

The core message or the heart of the prosperity gospel is that prosperity or success, in various forms, will certainly follow one who truly believes in Jesus Christ (Haynes 2012:126; Gifford 1998a:39). Although this prosperity is readily available, the key to unlock it is seed-sowing, in the form of fasting, prayer, tithing and giving. These practices, accompanied by a positive confession of faith in Jesus Christ, give the believer access to God's blessings and put the Spirit of God into action (Udelhoven 2011:2–3). Another aspect that relates to this gospel is the belief that prosperity is an indication of personal salvation and, therefore, the 'individual markers of the former – whether a marriage, good health, or a new upholstered chair – are therefore imbued with apologetic and evangelistic value' (Haynes 2012:126).

There are different versions of this gospel, ranging from mild to extreme and the latter being the most dominant form in Zambia. The mild version places a lot of emphasis on business entrepreneurship, hard work, right ideas about economic success, good economic management skills among others (*see* Ogungbile 2014:145–8). The extreme version seems to alter the relationship between God and the human being by overemphasising the power of the human being. According to Anderson (2013:222), 'Among its most questionable features is the possibility that human faith is placed above the sovereignty and grace of God and becomes a condition for God's action. The strength of faith is measured by results; material and financial prosperity and health are sometimes seen as evidence of spirituality' (*see also* Udelhoven 2011; Jones and Woodbridge 2012:52). Although there are different versions of the prosperity gospel, the underlying belief is that salvation addresses the whole person and a believer should not accept poverty passively because, in the words of Peter Berger (2008), 'if sickness or marginality should not be accepted passively as God-given circumstances, neither should poverty'.

Two ideas are at the centre of the prosperity gospel, namely, 'giving or sowing' - 'receiving or reaping', on one hand, and the refusal or rejection of poverty, on the other (Lauterbach 2008:91). These two ideas justify the reception of God's blessings in the sense that 'the more you give, the more you receive blessings from God.' The relationship between the worshipper and God is individual and personal: 'you give as an individual person and God gives to you as an individual' (Lauterbach 2008:93; *see also* Garner 2000). Giving to the church or the pastor is the same as giving to God, but the blessings come directly to the individual and not through the pastor or the church. The relationship is more like an economic bargain between an individual and God and the pastor merely acts as an intermediary. According to Israel Ortiz (2007:315), 'Prosperity theology reaches its maximum expression with the so-called alliances with God. Some Neo-Pentecostal pastors have made these alliances the central theme of their preaching. The church members use this as a form of trade. Tithing or offering commits God to give back one hundred per cent'. Lauterbach (2008:93) also states that 'the language used to explain the principles of giving and receiving is often an economic (neo-liberal) language. Giving is talked about as an investment and receiving as the fruits that investment might bring'.

Poverty is also disavowed in the sense that being rich is seen as a blessing, a sign of spiritual power than a sin. Here one gets the sense that poverty is regarded as a spiritual obstacle, a sickness, curse or even a sign of demonic presence (Ogungbile 2014:142; Chanda 2013:48–50). As the Chilean Pentecostal scholar Juan Sepúlveda (1993:54) wrote, poverty is despised, not for being a social ill that needs to be eradicated but as an indication of not being 'right with God'. 'In this way', Nestor Medina (2010:333) agrees, 'poverty becomes the divine lot of some people until they become faithful to God, or until God ceases to try their faith'. While to the extreme version faith is an antidote to poverty, to the mild version the rejection of poverty involves applying management-inspired principles in one's spiritual life. These principles are applied in every aspect of spiritual growth from Bible study, fasting-prayer, tithing-giving to worshipping.

Like what I have indicated earlier, the prosperity gospel has become the most popular Christian message in Zambia, regardless of denomination. The idea of seed-sowing is no longer a preserve of the new Pentecostal churches. Many mainline churches, including some classical Pentecostal churches have adopted it as a strategy of raising awareness among the faithful about church support. In some cases, pastors of the new churches are invited by some mainline churches to give 'lessons' or stimulate the spirit of tithing-giving. The majority of the mainline Christians in Zambia are now realising the importance of tithing so much that tithe collections have become a permanent and integral feature of Sunday offerings. Secondly, seed-sowing has been embraced as an evangelistic strategy. In Zambia, just like many other sub-Saharan African countries, there is a phenomenon of people 'migrating' from one church to another for one reason or another. This has created demographic problems for the mainline and classical Pentecostal churches that are now being forced to give a new and fresh

coating to their messages to be abreast of the hugely popular and pace-setting prosperity-oriented Pentecostal and charismatic movements.[21]

3.4.2 Is There a Pentecostal Ethic?

The rise of new Pentecostalism in the Global South today, especially the popular prosperity gospel has ignited scholarly interests in Max Weber's early twentieth century thesis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism/Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (1904–1905). In *The Protestant Ethic*, Weber argued that Protestantism was a significant factor in the emergence of the spirit of modern capitalism. Weber noticed that the goal of modern capitalism is profit making and the latter is considered as a virtue. According to Weber, Protestantism, with its idea of worldly calling (especially Calvinism with its belief in predestination) explains this pursuit of profit. Protestantism and Calvinism gave worldly activities a religious character and made profit-making a blessing from God. His main argument is not that Protestantism caused capitalism, but religious movements were potential causes of modern economic conditions. Capitalism, in his opinion, did not rely on the Protestant ethic, but rather needed only the initial push of the ethic and afterwards any work remaining had no religious meaning or connection.

Since the publication of *The Protestant Ethic*, there has always been a debate on whether Weber's central argument that 'the historical relationship between Protestantism and capitalism be used as a model for contemporary analysis' (Nogueria-Godsey 2012:113). The question here is whether there is any twenty-first century evidence to support Weber's argument that religion may be a significant positive force on economic development. In the context of the study, one is bound to ask whether there is any empirical evidence to give witness to the link between belonging to prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism and socio-economic mobility. In social sciences, the question is narrowed down to whether Pentecostalism brings a 'Protestant ethic' to non-western believers or whether there is any

21 Some Pentecostal and charismatic scholars believe that Pentecostal and charismatic movements have come as blessings in disguise to mainline churches. The 'migration' of members from mainline churches has motivated these churches to introspect themselves and diagnose the problems at hand. Joseph Quayesi-Amakaye (2016:76), a Ghanaian Pentecostal and charismatic scholar, wrote: 'Initially, it was believed that, like the earlier African Initiated Churches, the Pentecostals attracted converts because they used African traditional musical instruments and idioms in communicating the gospel. This led to a re-examination of the historic churches' paternalistic inherited Western church liturgies. Consequently, emulating the Pentecostals they introduced African musical forms and instruments into their liturgy and worship. While this met the aspirations of members halfway, it was apparent that their spiritual needs still went unsatisfied. This is because music alone does not solve spiritual problems (like the fear of witchcraft) or heal diseases believed to be esoteric. It is no wonder that eventually the historic churches adopted and incorporated spiritual activities and programmes akin to the Pentecostal churches'.

continuity between Weber's sixteenth century Protestant Ethic and the twenty-first century 'Pentecostal ethic'? Or is Pentecostalism, in Berger's (2008) words, 'part and parcel of a pro-capitalist ideology, seeking to dupe the poor of the global south into accepting the wicked policies of "neoliberalism"'?

Berger drew attention to the Pentecostal-Protestant ethic relationship in 1985 with the establishment of *The Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs* (CURA) at Boston University. One of CURA's projects was David Martin's *Tongues of Fire* (1990) in which he tried to show the correlation between Latin American Pentecostalism and the Protestant ethic that has led to the emergence and growth of the middle class. Martin observed that few studies have been done on the relationship between Pentecostalism and economic culture. According to Martin (1990: 205), the debate over the connection between the Protestant ethic and capitalism has been focused solely on the 'First Wave' of Protestantism (sixteenth century Calvinism) with very little attention paid to the 'Second Wave' (Methodist Protestantism) and none on the 'Third Wave' (Pentecostal Protestantism). In his view, scholars have been interested in the first two in terms of their contribution to civil society and democracy while ignoring, especially, the economic aspect of new Pentecostalism.

Some scholars like David Maxwell, Birgit Meyer and others are convinced that the modern 'Pentecostal ethic' is a continuation of Weber's *Protestant Ethic* and regard the increase in entrepreneurial activity among African Pentecostal Christians as evidence. Harvey Cox and Jan Swyngedouw (2000:5–6), despite pointing out that 'Pentecostals [...] are theologically and culturally very different from Weber's worldly ascetic Puritan', admitted that they can 'generate a functional equivalent to the work ethic that makes them particularly well suited to certain features of modernization'. Donald Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori (2007:165), in support of Berger and Martin, claimed that 'the lifestyle of Pentecostals does not differ substantially from Weber's description of the Puritans. Consequently, Pentecostal converts who are not wasting their money on alcohol, drugs, and partying now have surplus capital that they can invest into their businesses or the education of family members, thus ensuring their upward social mobility'. The prosperity gospel is believed to have created a 'Pentecostal ethic' like Weber's sixteenth century 'Protestant ethic' and this is believed to have led to an aggressive socio-economic culture among new Pentecostal believers.

In his studies on the *Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa* (ZAOGA) church, Maxwell found that the church had an institutional process of re-socialising members into the church community. This process emphasised literacy, industriousness, entrepreneurship and strong moral principles. According to Maxwell (1998:353), the results of such a process are very clear in that it 'makes the born-again believer more industrious and socially mobile than many of their unsaved neighbours in a variety of ways'. Many studies have been done on Pentecostal economic culture that cannot be handled here. However, from an examination of some of these studies, there is no doubt that prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism plays a major role in the upward socio-economic mobility of its members.

In West Africa, studies have shown that some Pentecostal churches have transformed the lives of the believers and their communities by promoting the culture of small-scale entrepreneurship, funding educational and business programmes, and establishing international links for the benefit of their members. In her studies, Kate Meagher (2009:402–3) points out that the rapid rise of Pentecostal movements in Abia State, Nigeria, in the 1990s, led to an increase in the level of informal enterprise. According to her (Meagher 2009:416–7), the spread of new Pentecostalism and the increase in entrepreneurship and industriousness in Abia State are connected by two elements, namely, the message of strict personal ethics and the creation and availability of business links through the Christian network. This argument has also been supported by studies from other contexts. For instance, in his study of the Tshwane (Pretoria) small black born again entrepreneurs, Julio de Sousa (2012:193) discovered that

> for many entrepreneurs conversion to Pentecostalism has meant the creation of new social ties and identities. Not only is church fellowship the new kinship […]. The church becomes the fulcrum about which the convert's new social and business networks turn […] born-again entrepreneurs found their congregations to be a prime source of bridging social capital. While sites of exclusive bonding ties par excellence, many Pentecostal churches provided a platform for business opportunities by mobilizing urban networks of professional contacts and sources of financial assistance. It has been argued that more than entering a local community, joining a Pentecostal church often entails linking converts with a wider social network distinctive to Pentecostal circuits.

In the Asian context, Sung-Gun Kim, a South Korean professor of sociology, believes that Weber's *Protestant Ethic* could, partly, explain the simultaneous rapid growth of Pentecostalism and the Korean economy in the 1960s. According to Kim (2013:27), the rise of Korean Pentecostalism and a neoliberal economy was not a mere coincidence as there is a correlation between the two that warrants critical attention. Kim follows David Martin in arguing that the growth of Pentecostalism in Korea in the 1960s was due to the Protestant culture that came from the US. Although the Koreans were exposed to the prosperity gospel from North American Pentecostal evangelists, they developed their version of the prosperity gospel in response to the hardship experienced during the Korean War in the 1950s. During the Korean War, a lot of North American Pentecostal missionaries and groups established missions in Korea. In 1952, the AOG sent their first missionary to Korea, and a year later, the Korean AOG came into being with the first Bible college being opened the following year.

The first graduates of the AOG mission in Korea were exposed to the prosperity gospel from American Pentecostal evangelists. One of them Paul Yonggi Cho, founder of the Korean mega-church *Yoido Full Gospel Church*, eventually developed what Kim calls a Korean version of the prosperity gospel consisting of the 'threefold blessing' and the 'fivefold gospel'. Yonggi Cho's 'fivefold gospel' is made up of: (1) the gospel of salvation, (2) the gospel of the fullness of the Spirit, (3) the gospel of divine healing, (4) the gospel of blessing and, (5) the

gospel of the second coming of Jesus Christ. The 'threefold blessing' consists of the salvation of the soul, material success and physical health (Lee 2004:11–12). It is interesting to note that Yonggi Cho whom Kim cites as a purveyor of a Korean version of the American prosperity gospel denies this characterisation and regards his teaching as purely Korean that is based on the harsh economic conditions of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, he regards his message as a 'gospel of need' and not the American 'gospel of greed'. Yonggi Cho suggests that because of the economic progress Korea is enjoying, there is a need now to focus on the spirit of sacrifice rather than on material blessings (Kim 2006:23–38; Yung 2012:99).

According to Kim (2006:37), the Korean Pentecostal movement grew as a result of the Pentecostal message that focused on material and present blessing. Unlike classical Pentecostals who are focused on beyond the present, new Pentecostal Christians stress on the present age. This Christian trend empowers the marginalised by instilling in them self-confidence and belief. By affirming family values that are incongruent with tradition and socially accepted norms, new Pentecostalism transforms individuals and families and this 'leads to capital formation of all kinds […] and self-government' (Kim 2006:37). Because of this, Kim (2013:31) calls for the upgrading of Weber's thesis to 'Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' since the Pentecostal emphasis on an *I-God* relationship creates the individualism which is the basis of capitalism. The prosperity gospel promoted by Korean Pentecostalism works for the

> self-betterment and as a catalyst for social progress and ultimately for the creation of wealth […]. At the very least, neo-Pentecostalism in South Korea has not only provided meaning for living and succour to its adherents, but also has taught many of them the values of ascetic Protestantism, essential for social mobility in a capitalist economy […]. Though the correlation between Pentecostalism and economic advancement is opaque, […]. I argue that the two go together. (Kim 2013:30)

These and other studies done elsewhere have shown that the application of business rationality, and not necessarily the belief in miraculous wealth, have sometimes created an economic ethic that has helped prosperity-oriented Pentecostal and charismatic Christians engage meaningfully and productively with the modern market. This has helped them to cope with economic challenges and link them to more productive business networks locally and abroad (*see* Van Dijk 2012:87–108 and 2003:562–83). The evidence that seems to support the view that Christian faith improves one's material situation has led some people like Berger (2008), to highlight the sociological relevance of this gospel. Brushing aside criticism from theologians and left-wingers, Berger stressed that what is important is that the prosperity gospel helps the poor. He (Berger 2008) argued that, unlike the sixteenth century Calvinism where positive economic consequences were unintentional, the followers of the prosperity gospel are *intentional Weberians* because they 'consciously intend the consequences that earlier Protestants brought about unintentionally'. Naomi Haynes (2012:125) pointed out that prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism is not simply an enchantment of neoliberal capitalism,

but 'a site of *action*, invested in and appropriated by believers.' According to her (Haynes 2012:134), what can be attributed to Weber's sixteenth century Protestants can also be attributed to the late modern Pentecostals whose emphasis on personal advancement pushes them on the market. In the same vein, Dena Freeman (2012:20) highlights that new Pentecostalism brings about a paradigm shift and this stimulates new business and economic values and behaviour.

Although there have been opposing voices to the idea of a 'Pentecostal ethic', scholars are unanimous that the 'Protestant ethic' has reincarnated among modern Pentecostals in sub-Saharan Africa given the increase in entrepreneurial activities. Several scholars, mainly sociologists (including theologians, church historians, psychologists and others) have done extensive research on the prosperity gospel and its importance in understanding the character of Pentecostalism in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the studies on African Pentecostalism have stressed that this 'gospel' has a positive effect on the believer's socio-economic well-being as it encourages entrepreneurship and individual enterprise (*see* Hackett 1995; Akoko 2004; Hunt 2000; Meyer 2002; Hasu 2006; Cox 1996; Healas 1999; Freeman 2012; Marshall-Fratani 1991 and 1998; Kalu 2000 and 2008; McCain 2000; Clifton 2014; Ukah 2005; Ojo 2005; Quayesi-Amakye 2011). These studies seem to show that Pentecostalism is not a mere parallel or alternative economic institution, but actually 'a productive space with real-world consequences […] socially or economically productive' (Haynes 2012:125). Pentecostalism has the possibility of creating real and socially, economically and even politically, productive networks.

However, economic aspirations on their own cannot explain the popularity of prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism. According to Robbins (2010:170), 'As compelling as this argument that the prosperity gospel is a way of making sense of capitalism in the places where that economic system most spectacularly fails to contribute to a flourishing social life, there is room for another interpretation.' He pointed out that some of the earliest studies on prosperity-oriented churches have shown the importance of the idea of gift-giving among prosperity believers. The believers understood their actions in terms of the gift exchange system whereby 'They give to God, then await a return gift – a gift that may not come directly from God but may be given by another of God's subjects who does the original giver kindness' (2010:170). Another study observed that prosperity believers 'reinterpret all the good things that happen to them as gifts God delivered, either directly or through others, in return for the tithes they make' (2010:171). A study by Haynes (cited by Robbins 2010:171) discovered that the traditional African practices of gift-giving are becoming widespread among urbanites as the market economy fails to meet the needs of the people. In the words of Robbins (2010:171), her conclusion was that

> the prosperity gospel churches appeal to people not because of the material success they promise – for it is clear that this almost always fails to arrive – but rather for the training they provide in how to conceptualize and operate an economy of gifts. Prosperity churches mirror and explicitly demand the very

> kinds of practices of gift-giving and trust that young urban Africans with little experience of rural life need to learn if they are to find a place for themselves in the gift economies that are coming to prominence all around them. They thus speak directly to peoples' current experience, and it is this relevance […] that accounts at least in part for their current popularity.

This means that, apart from being a counter-cultural network, Pentecostal movements have also appropriated some of the traditional African value systems and cultural norms. The Pentecostal practices of tithing and giving and offering benefit a lot from the traditional African culture of gift-giving, where one is expected to show gratitude for any help rendered (§3.2.2). When a pastor asks a new car from his/her congregants and the latter responds positively, from an African traditional perspective, there is nothing corrupt or manipulative about this gesture. The same applies to personal gifts that are given to the pastor. The gifts are interpreted as an acknowledgement of the position of the pastor as the 'man (or woman) of God' and not as another form of bribery. The level and depth of solidarity among the born-again believers parallels that of traditional African networks (*see* §3.3).

Now, the following question begs for an answer: given the evidence expounded above, how is the relationship between Pentecostalism and economy to be understood? Is it a simply a linear or causal association or is the relationship more complicated than that? It is important to note that some scholars think that Weber's *Protestant Ethic* alone cannot explain prosperity and the high standards of living among Pentecostal and charismatic Christians and that no concrete and satisfactory empirical evidence links new Pentecostalism to economic progression. Representing this view is Trad Nogueria-Godsey (2012:145) who says that 'there is no substantial evidence to support Berger's hypothesis that Pentecostalism is a positive force to drive development'.

Others, like Gifford (2004), Asamoah-Gyadu (2005), Fee (1985) and Barron (1987) dismiss this evidence arguing that instead of promoting a new work ethic, prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism promotes greed and consumerism. Jean and John Comaroff (2000:291–343) suggested that the prosperity gospel is just an occult economy in disguise. In some contexts, Pentecostal and charismatic Christians are coming to terms with the reality that uniform economic prosperity and material equality is not a reality (Haynes 2012:128–9). Although they strongly believe that God wants them to prosper, these Pentecostals are now accepting prosperity with economic differences, as Haynes (2012:130) pointed out, 'prosperity does not mean that everyone would be rich, but refers to a salvation where those who have enough and are numerous enough to become benefactors of those who are not'. Meyer (2010:115-6) warns against oversimplifying the relationship between Pentecostalism and the economy.

> Scholars need to register the variety of modes through which Pentecostals relate to the economy. While conversion to Pentecostalism may be conducive to a capitalist work ethic and overall lifestyle in certain settings as suggested by Weber, in others the effects may be quite different. In his critical analysis of Pentecostal-

> charismatic churches in Ghana, for instance, Paul Gifford noted that their consumerist ethos and affirmation of beliefs in spirits may be an impediment to 'development'. Other authors, too, question the assumption of 'born again' conversion yielding an orderly ethos that is instrumental for modernization. For instance, […] Daniel Smith's study of 'born again' corruption in Nigeria thwart assumptions about the mindset and lifestyle of Pentecostals and question the validity of the Weber thesis as a blueprint. It is high time for scholars of Pentecostalism to also pay attention to such examples. *We need to resist taking for granted the relation between Pentecostalism and capitalism, and acknowledge that a variety of attitudes exist: from an engaged concern with health and poverty to an inclination towards corruption and self-enrichment*. (emphasis mine)

3.5 Summary and Reflection

The second section (§3.2) examined the different approaches, classifications and typologies to defining and conceptualising corruption. The section argues that the current definitions of corruption are inadequate for some reasons. Firstly, corrupt activities are not always motivated by economic or financial interests. In some contexts, involvement in corrupt activities is influenced by cultural norms and values. These cultural factors place the actor in a moral dilemma between loyalty to cultural/kinship ties, on one side, and professional ethics and integrity, on the other. Secondly, corruption is more of a moral problem rather than a legal one, a reflection of the decline in personal moral integrity than in institutional principles and values.

The second section §3.3 argues that the nature of corrupt relationships can only be understood in the light of the dynamics of social networks. Corruption here is understood as a process that results from social interaction between actors or participants. To understand corruption as a social process one must understand how social networks influence the individual's involvement in corruption. In §3.3.2 the chapter argues that faith communities or religious associations are the most powerful networks in the formation and deformation of moral norms and values. The fourth section (§3.4) discusses the impact of prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism on the individual's economic life. The section argues that this Pentecostal trend has the potential of creating economically productive individuals and social networks.

It is extremely difficult to understand corruption in its entirety, its major components, and the interpretation of the actions and processes. The definition employed in this study has three parties: the principal/institution, the official who is the public face of the principal/institution and the person seeking access to social services (*see* §3.2.1). The three parties are bound by a certain type of trust that provides the belief that the other party regards trust and honesty as morally important and thus will behave or act as expected. This type of

trust gives a moral justification or framework that enables the parties to engage with each other with confidence. Corruption comes when a trusted person does not act or behave as expected or does so for a fee. Critics of this economic-oriented definition of corruption have consistently argued that there is more to corruption than economic or financial gain. One aspect that is highlighted is the fact that 'corrupt' transactions have a different meaning in some contexts where relationships matter a lot. In most cases, the dynamics of corruption are heavily influenced by socio-cultural factors.

Although corruption is not only about financial gain or about economic interests, as I have pointed above, most corrupt activities are now being dominated by the desire for personal economic advancement. The monetisation of the economy and the dominant profit-driven free market system are some of the factors that seem to have altered the dynamics and nature of relationships as well as the functions of most institutions in the society. The emphasis on free enterprise has encouraged individualism and individual responsibility and this has replaced the idea of the common good. Relationships are sometimes weighed in terms of profit and loss. Although this may seem to be far-fetched, it could be argued that even behind a simple social network there is a quest for economic advancement.

The debate concerning the economic dimension of religious belonging has now been complicated by the spread of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. One thread of this trend of Christianity has a strong emphasis on moral behaviour and demand for purity that extends from personal appearance to marital and social life. Another thread comes with an emphasis on prosperity and success causally linked to one's faith in God through a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. Whilst there is no doubt about the former's influence on the believer's moral behaviour, the role of the latter in moral formation and deformation needs further investigation

4. Case Study One – Kwacha PAOG Church

> When some Christians are found in corrupt activities, we tend to blame all the believers [...] true born-again believers cannot be found in corrupt practices. ('Noel Tembo', interview, 12/10/2013)

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study is to examine how Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe, Zambia, are engaging with the ever-growing problem of corruption in local communities. The study explores this problem through an ethnographic study on two Pentecostal churches. The previous chapter (*see* §3.4.1) pointed out that the type of gospel brought about by new Pentecostal movements in the late-1980s completely changed the character and the dynamics of the movement in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. In this vein, the chapter noted that there is credible evidence that shows that this 'gospel' has a positive impact on the lives of African Pentecostal and charismatic Christians as entrepreneurship, industriousness and upward economic mobility have accompanied this Christian trend. This seems to have created a new way of relating to God and other people, thus, a new way of being Christian.

As indicated in chapter two (*see* §2.4), the study is anchored on a case study that involved purposeful and critical interactions with members of two churches in Kitwe that had different spiritual and theological orientations and demographic compositions. This chapter presents the first study conducted at the *Pentecostal Assemblies of God* church in Kwacha township (Kwacha-PAOG). This chapter tries to examine how Kwacha-PAOG was conceptualising the problem of corruption and how the members were responding to this conceptualisation. Consequently, the focus of the ethnographic interactions was not on the institution or the pastor per se but the members' perception of corruption in the society. Therefore, the main sources of material on which the analysis is based are the fieldwork and interviews conducted with members of Kwacha-PAOG between May and October 2013.

4.2 The Pentecostal Assemblies of God-Zambia

This chapter is about the fieldwork done at PAOG-Z, one of the most influential classical Pentecostal Churches in Zambia. This section introduces this Church, with a special focus on its history (§4.2.1) and administrative or governing structures (§4.2.2).

4.2.1 Historical Background

The PAOG-Z, according to some Zambian Pentecostal and charismatic scholars, is 'not only the largest Pentecostal Church, but also the most acknowledged Christian ministry outside the 'mainliners" (Chalwe 2008:8). According to Lumbe (2008:27), it is 'the catalyst of the growth experienced in the movement in Zambia' (*see also* EF Phiri 2009:75 and 2012:1). It is believed that today the PAOG-Z has nearly two thousand churches, about five hundred trained pastors and a membership of around a million (Chalwe 2008:25; Lumbe 2008:32; Phiri 2012:54–89; PAOG-Z 2007:16). Two lines of arguments bolster the belief that the PAOG-Z is the most influential classical Pentecostal Church in Zambia.[22] The first stresses the number of congregations the Church has planted since it came to Zambia in the 1950s. According to AOG statistics, the Church has an annual growth of between thirty-five to fifty-one new congregations, making it the single largest denomination in the *Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia* (EFZ) (PAOG-Z 2007:7). The second stresses the role of the church in the birth of most Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia. It is believed that, 'The Pentecostal Assemblies of God, among other mission Pentecostal churches, has contributed 50% of the leaders in the Charismatic churches' (Lumbe 2008:32).

Just like the history of other classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia, the background of PAOG-Z is not a straightforward narrative because of conflicting reports surrounding the dating of the arrival of the first AOG missionaries in Zambia. Those who attribute the establishment of the Church to the South African AOG would place the date as 1948 and those who argue that the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) were instrumental in the establishment of the Church place the date between 1955 and 1958 (Chalwe 2008:2–13). Again, there is no consensus on who was the first AOG missionary to Northern Rhodesia. According to some sources, the first missionary to be sent to Northern Rhodesia was Robert Skinner who came in 1956 and established a mission station in Fort Jameson (now Chipata) in the eastern part of the country (Lumbe 2008:27). Other sources say that it was James W. Skinner and his wife Lila, the first missionaries to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), who came to Northern Rhodesia from Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) in 1955 on an exploratory journey.

22 Here it is important to emphasise that, more than two decades ago, Gifford (1998a:184) argued that the biggest Pentecostal Church in Zambia is not the PAOG, but a relatively unknown Church: *New Apostolic Church* (NAC). According to Gifford (1998a:184), the membership of NAC in Zambia increased from 195 in 1982 to 934 in 1996 an increase of more than three hundred per cent. However, Gifford's research was criticised for being biased towards the urban working class group and city-based churches that had 'reliable' and accessible statistics 'at the expense of the African Initiated Churches (AICs) whose liturgies are not written and are in local languages' (Gundani 1989:244). As a result, Gundani (1989:244) argued that some of Gifford's statistics should be taken with a pinch of salt. However, as of 31 December 2009, the Church had about one million three hundred and fifty thousand members, twenty-eight thousand ministers and seven thousand churches in Zambia alone (*see* NAC [Zambia] website: http://www.naczam.org.zm/local_organization.htm).

Robert was the son of James and Lila. According to Chalwe (2008:13), the Skinners were related to Robert E. McAlister who received Spirit-baptism in Los Angeles in 1906 and brought the Azusa revival to Canada. Before coming to Northern Rhodesia, Robert Skinner had worked as a missionary in South Africa, Mozambique, and Kenya (Lumbe 2008:10).

However, according to most AOG sources, the Church originated from the PAOC through a Canadian couple Jack and Winsome Muggleton (Chalwe 2008:2–13). Jack, who had been released from the military in 1947, joined the *Christian Mission in Many Lands* (CMML) in Kapompo area in Northern Rhodesia (Miller 1994:332–3). After receiving Spirit-baptism, the Muggletons were reportedly expelled from the CMML and, with the support and advice of Robert and Doris Skinner, who were passing through Northern Rhodesia between 1956 and 1957, established a mission station at Mwambashi near Kitwe (PAOG-Z 2007:4; Miller 1994:332–3). But, how were the Muggletons exposed to Pentecostal teachings? There three possible answers. The first is based on the fact that the Muggletons came to Zambia as CMML missionaries and encountered Pentecostalism later. One can postulate that Pentecostalism preceded the Muggletons and probably entered the country before 1948. The second is that though the Muggletons received Spirit-baptism as missionaries in Northern Rhodesia does not rule out the possibility of prior exposure to Pentecostalism. One can also postulate that the Muggletons were exposed to Pentecostal teachings before they came to Zambia. Another reason could be that they were exposed to Pentecostal beliefs by expatriate mine workers from South Africa who had prior exposure and contact with Pentecostalism. When the Skinners joined the Muggletons at Mwambashi around 1960, this mission had become the springboard for the spread of Pentecostalism among the locals on the Copperbelt (Chalwe 2008:10).

The development or growth of PAOG-Z seems to have been largely influenced by the training ministry of its Bible College in Kitwe, now TCU (see Note 14) (2008:13). Chalwe (2008:13–14) points out that the development of the Church comprised of four phases each lasting about fourteen years. The first phase, *the inaugural period* (1955–1970), largely served and targeted the interests of the white community, except the Muggletons at Mwambashi who seemed to have confined their missionary work to the migrant black workers in the mines (2008:28–9). As a result, with the depopulation of this community after independence in 1964, the missionary work nearly ground to a halt (2008:29–30). The government's post-independence focus on the education sector enabled more Zambians to occupy positions held by whites and to live in previously white suburbs.

The second phase, *the invigoration period* (1970–1985), was a period when the Church decided to change its missionary strategy to an aggressive evangelistic drive focused on high schools, colleges, and other institutions of higher learning, including townships and compounds (2008:30). This strategy ultimately defined and shaped the Church and catapulted it from a nonentity to being one of the most influential classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia today (2008:31).

The third phase, *the increase years* (1985–2000), was initiated by the relocation of the Bible College to a more spacious campus in Kitwe. This change affected the student intake as more students were enrolled in its programmes and, consequently, 'The large classes of students who had graduated from the college have helped to change the outlook of the Church in a telling way' (2008:14). From 2000 to 2015 the Church underwent a *period of innovation* (the fourth phase) during which the Church was actively involved in the social, economic and political life of the people (2008:15). Apart from the teaching ministry, the Church's massive growth and influence lie in the models that have been employed by the Church for the past forty-five years, according to Chalwe. The first strategy was the *prayer and outreach model*. This strategy was employed in the initial phases of the mission in Zambia around the late 1950s and early 1960s. Through this model, many congregations were planted on the Copperbelt region.

The second strategy was the *revival-preaching model*. This method was adopted after the re-opening of the Bible College in the mid-1970s and was targeted at the educated youths. During this period, the *discipleship model* was also adopted. The *discipleship* and the *revival-preaching* methods were the results of the transformation that took place in the late 1970s. They emphasised the teaching ministry of the Church and the Bible College laid the foundation for this strategy. Consequently, 'The students who graduated were not only instrumental in preaching to their congregations but also in discipling the many converts that came to the faith at that time' (2008:29). The current model, the *Church growth and social ministry*, was adopted after 2005 when the Church realised that Pentecostals are not opening their eyes to 'the underprivileged of the land'. Since then, the PAOG-Z has 'increased its involvement in education, politics, and economic issues. The Church has built many schools and owns two huge farms where orphanages have been built for vulnerable children' (2008:29).

What do the Assemblies believe? The Church's *Statement of Faith* reflects and embodies the basic non-negotiable tenets of faith that the Assemblies adhere to. There are eight articles in the *Statement of Faith* and only two are relevant to this study.[23] *Article four* (PAOG-Z 2007:1)

23 According to the full *Statement of Faith*, the PAOG-Z (2007:1) believe (1) The Bible to be the inspired and only infallible and authoritative Word of God and only rule for Christian faith and conduct; (2) That there is one God, eternally existence in three persons: God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit; (3) In the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His virgin birth, in his sinless life, in His miracles, in His vicarious and atoning death, in His bodily resurrection, in His ascension to the right hand of the Father, and in His personal future return to this earth in power and glory to rule over the nations; (4) That the only means of salvation is through repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and that this results in regeneration by the Holy Spirit; (5) That the redemptive work of Jesus Christ on the cross provides healing of the human body in answer to believing prayer; (6) That the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the outward evidence of speaking in tongues according to Acts 2 is given to the believing prayer; (7) In the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the Christian is enabled to live a

states that 'The only means of salvation is through repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that this results in regeneration by the Spirit'. *Article seven* (2007:1) stresses belief 'In the sanctifying power of the Spirit by whose indwelling the Christian is enabled to live a holy life'. The fourth article stresses the importance of being born-again (variously called spiritual transformation/resurrection, new/second birth, renovation, conversion). This is purely a subjective process that is brought about by the Spirit who brings the individual from the life of sin to righteousness. When one is born-again, the Spirit resides in the individual permanently (indwelling of the Spirit). This indwelling of the Spirit results in some life-changing effects on the individual and *article seven* mentions one of them: empowering the believer in the path of holiness or righteousness.

4.2.2 Church Structure and Governance

The PAOG-Z, like most classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia, is not a hierarchically structured institution with pyramid of officeholders. Its bishops are not episcopal but are regarded as superintendents 'appointed to lead and oversee church 'departments' which have been established for better coordination and administration of the church' (Phiri 2009:49). It is important to note here that the AOG does not define itself a 'denomination' but 'as a cooperative fellowship of churches' (Poloma 1989:9). The method of church governance that is used in AOG is a *fellowship polity* that is a mixture of *presbyterian polity* (whereby authority resides in a body of elected elders) and *congregational polity* (authority resides in the congregation itself). This hybrid system of church governance seems to help the Church to handle the tension between local autonomy and national authority. This has resulted in a system of governance that is neither an absolute autonomy nor a franchise system but a moderate or semi-autonomy system whereby the district and the general executive direct and guide the church on policy matters. Angelo Cettolin's (2016:83) analysis of this system is enlightening:

> The crucial issue for the AOG is whether pastors in its autonomous churches are able to retain the control of their centralized denominational government structure or whether the central structure will dominate its constituents. […]. These dilemmas cannot be resolved without either quenching the Spirit of God and the manifestations of spiritual gifts or alternatively capitulating to disorder. […]. The emphasis on autonomous local church self-government and "apostolic" leadership at executive levels within the AOG system seems to be promoting diversity of ministries and churches.

There are different versions of this AOG hybrid system depending on local conditions. In Zambia, the AOG is governed by a General Executive, sometimes called the Council of

holy life; (8) In the resurrection of both the saved and the lost; the one to everlasting life, and the other to everlasting damnation.

Bishops, that 'directs the vision and mission of the Church by coordinating, directing, implementing the policies and administer the general conduct of the Church as a whole' (Chalwe 2008:179). The PAOC missionaries from East Africa supervised the PAOG-Z until 1981 when the national governing body came into existence (2008:179). Originally the executive structure of the national governing body comprised of the chair who is the Chief Bishop (or the General Superintendent), Assistant Chief Bishop (or the Assistant General Superintendent), General Secretary, General Treasurer, Home and Foreign Missions Director and District Bishops (the District Superintendents).

Realising that the governing structure was too demographically and numerically-oriented, the PAOG-Z adjusted the structure to expand the duties of some of the executive members 'to show clearly that the Church needs to be involved in other forms of missions, not just concentrating on the ministry of the Word of God through evangelization' (Phiri 2009:91). Consequently, a second Assistant Chief Bishop was introduced since the new vision entailed an increase in the amount of work. The first Assistant Chief Bishop is responsible for all social programmes, pastoral care and counselling, while the second Assistant Chief Bishop oversees education, health, supervising institutions and departments as well as infrastructure development (2009:91). The executive members oversee three departments, namely, the department of church ministries, the department of national missions and the department of social programmes in addition to overseeing the church's six districts (2009:91 and Phiri 2012:55).

According to the *Constitution and By-Laws of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God* (2007:1), one of the aims of the Church is 'To establish self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating Assemblies, which believe, obey and propagate the full gospel message'. Under the autonomy system, each church (or local Assembly) is a semi-independent unit that, to a certain extent, manages its own affairs and resources without much interference from the district or the headquarters, 'As long as the pastor pays the 10%, the local church remits the 10% and meets any other obligations that the district or the HQ requires' (Phiri 2009:70). As Elijah Phiri (2009:102) wrote:

> the structure of the PAOG (Z), whereby the District Executive Committees of each district […] and the Council of Bishops are the ultimate overseers and authority over all these congregations shows how flexible this autonomy has been. For example, the District Executive committees and the Council of Bishops can decide any course of action that they deem necessary regarding any congregation of PAOG (Z) and its leadership, if a breach of the constitution has been noticed. It can also decide which pastor should lead a particular congregation. Furthermore, some decisions taken by local congregations may require ratification by either the District Executive committees or the Council of Bishops.

While the autonomy system has helped the PAOG-Z to build strong, dynamic and progressive churches, not everyone in the Church is convinced that this is the appropriate

system for the Zambian context. One major criticism is that this system has created an uneven distribution of Church resources (2009:84–7). When churches have paid their dues to the district and the headquarters, they are free to do whatever they like with the rest of their resources. The churches in the cities, urban areas or in economically vibrant areas have more resources than churches in the poor, impoverished, and resource-constrained areas. The former can fulfil their evangelistic goals and attract skilled workforce while the latter struggle to attract qualified and highly trained pastors and mission workers (2009:85).

The system seems to have created the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' among churches and widened the gap between urban churches (some of which have developed into mega-churches) and township and rural churches. This explains why the Church seems to perform very well in cities and urban areas and struggle in rural areas where there are no adequate resources: 'The churches that have more mission resources, and a clear commitment to do the work of God, excel in their mission activities. On the other hand, those churches that do not have much of these resources may be limited in the scope of their missionary endeavours' (2009:85). Collaborations between churches in terms of mission support depend on the benevolence of the individual churches themselves:

> The autonomy system in the PAOG (Z) does not oblige individual churches to support those churches that are struggling in terms of mission resources. It also does not encourage individual churches to collaborate in tackling larger projects, for example outside of Zambia. It is a situation of "each church for itself", which limits the participation of the PAOG (Z) in world evangelization. There is an understanding that individual churches should not so much bother other churches but should aim to stand on their own. (2009:85)

The congregational administrative system of Kwacha-PAOG was made up of the pastor, the church elders and the 'deacon-board'. The church elders were appointed by the pastor to advise him on church matters and were, therefore, *ex officio* members of the 'deacon-board'. Next in the administrative structure were the deacons who made up what was called the 'deacon-board'. Unlike the church elders, who were selected and appointed solely by the resident pastor, the deacons were selected by the people, and the pastor exercised his discretionary powers to appoint the nominees to the 'deacon-board'. The pastor was not mandated to nominate anyone to the 'deacon-board' whom he felt could not work with. This was different from the old Assemblies system where the pastor had no role in the nomination and appointment of deacons. According to an interview excerpt below (with pastor Banda, 8/5/2013), this system caused many problems within the PAOG-Z as members took advantage of it to dismiss the pastor:

> It was difficult in those days because the members were in the habit of campaigning to be on the deacon-board so that they could easily dismiss or fire the pastor, the man of God. Therefore, the Council of Bishops looked into that issue and they decided to change the system to give the pastor the power to

> nominate to the deacon-board members who are loyal to his work and services so that they can try to work together and harmonise every situation in the Church.

The same deacons made up the departmental leadership when they supervised different ministries like the youth, women, men and others. At Kwacha-PAOG, there were about ten deacons who were in charge of specific pastoral areas in the church and, according to pastor Banda (Interview, 20/5/2013), there was no deacon without a portfolio. These deacons-in-charge not only supervised the departments but also represented the departments on the 'deacon-board'. The deacon-in-charge handled problems from the department and would then refer them to the board. Pastor Banda (Interview, 20/5/2013) pointed out that this hierarchical structure was necessary to avoid problems getting out of hand, '[…] because we do not want problems to spread and destabilise the church. We want these problems to be sorted out as quickly as possible so the church can move on and remain focused without complications and problems'. Just like any other church in Zambia, Kwacha-PAOG was further structured into cells and zones for the smooth running of the congregation. Pastor Banda introduced the cell-gatherings when he arrived in 2001, but it took time for the people to get used to the system.

4.3 The Case Context

This section introduces the context, that is, the township/community. The context is important in the sense that it is, partly, the key to understanding the process of moral formation of the individual in society. Regarding the study objectives, the context also plays a pivotal role in influencing and shaping the believer's perception of corrupt practices.

4.3.1 Kwacha Township

Kwacha is a high-density township about eight kilometres from Kitwe central business district. The township began, probably around the late 1950s or early 1960s, as a settlement for council workers and it consists of houses with three bedrooms, a living room/dining, a kitchen and an outdoor toilet (*see* figure 3). Most of the houses were built for small families, but over the years, with the influx of people from the rural areas to work in the mines, the township has become congested with multiple families living in a single housing unit. There is, however, historical background to these housing types. Kitwe, like any other town on the Copperbelt, inherited the colonial residential system of municipal and mining areas each subdivided into European and African sections (Epstein 1958; Powdermaker 1962). The municipal and mining African settlements developed as a result of the 1929 *Employment of Natives Ordinance* of Northern Rhodesia that mandated every employer with thirty or more workers to provide accommodation or housing allowance for the workers. As a result, mining

companies built high standard housing for their expatriate workers and low-quality 'single-quarter' dwellings for the unskilled African labourers. After social unrest,

> the mines started building housing suited to nuclear families and of higher standards, 36 to 55 square meters in area, with three rooms, full servicing and demarcated plots […]. Through colonial times and into the 1970s, local councils-built housing for low-income workers not directly housed by their employers, or for employers to rent on to their employees, or for the councils' own workers. After 1945, two- and three-room dwellings were built in 'townships' on council-owned land and let at subsidized rents. (UN-Habitat 2012:47; *see also* Powdermaker 1962:7; Tipple 1981; Mutale 2004)

When Chiluba came into power in the early 1990s, he embarked on a privatisation programme that saw a radical transformation of many parastatals and state institutions (Mthembu-Salter 2002:1144; Ihonvbere 1996:146). The civil service was reduced drastically, the economy was liberalised and nearly all the parastatals were privatised or offloaded and most of them under controversial and questionable circumstances (Mthembu-Salter 2002:1144; Ng'oma n.d.6). Towards the end of Chiluba's presidency, the Zambian economy shrunk remarkably by two per cent. Copper production fell sharply turning the once vibrant mining towns on the Copperbelt into near-ghost towns. Unemployment and poverty levels increased, and the kwacha fell by twenty-two per cent in 1995 and fifty-three per cent in 2000 (Ng'oma n.d.7). Over the years, the township's reticulation system that was designed for a small population collapsed under pressure and, as a result, blockages and sewage overflows are an everyday occurrence.[24] The township, just like any other high-density settlement in Zambia, also suffers from frequent power and water cuts. From the beginning, the township never had properly tarred roads and, from my experience, driving through the township today involves meandering through dusty roads and sometimes negotiating through ditches, trenches, and pools of stagnant water.

The urban settlements in Zambia today reflect the colonial policy of classifying residential areas. During the pre-independence era, residential areas were classified into low-density, medium-density, and high-density settlements. This policy continued after independence in that, instead of classifying people according to skin colour, divisions were made according to their socio-economic status into the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. The colonial classification of residential and development areas continues today in the form of high-income/high-cost, medium-income/medium-cost and low-income/low-cost divisions (Collins 1986:102; UN-Habitat 2012:10,45; Kazimbaya-Senkwe and Guy 2007). According to the information availed to me by the *Kitwe Health District Board*, Kitwe has about forty residential areas, namely, twenty-one low-income/low-cost, twelve medium-income/low-cost, and seven high-

24 This information is based on my observation of the condition of the reticulation system in the township during the fieldwork.

income/low-cost. Before the 2011 debasement of the Zambian currency,[25] the low-income were people who were earning about one-million kwacha per month (about US$200), the middle income were earning between one million and seven million kwacha per month (that is between US$200 and US$1, 400) and the high income above seven million kwacha monthly (above US$1, 400). Kwacha is considered as a middle-income settlement meaning that most people earn between K1, 000 (about US$200) and K1, 500 (about US$300).

Figure 3: A house in Kwacha, township, Kitwe, copyright © 2013 by the author

4.3.2 Kwacha-PAOG

Kwacha-PAOG church is one of the four PAOG churches in Kwacha/Bulangililo area of Kitwe. It is also one of the forty Chambishi/Kalulushi/Kitwe Zone churches of the Copperbelt PAOG district. This church is situated in the middle of the township and a wall (security)-fence, that was erected in 2013, marks the plot. When I started the research, the building of a church was just taking off with half of the church already completed (*see* figures 4 and 5). The congregation was started in the mid-1980s when the Assemblies believers who were congregating at the nearby Kwacha shopping centre moved to the present site. The church's resident pastor, pastor Banda, came to Kwacha in 2001 a year after graduating from TCU. By

25 At the end of 2011, Zambia debased its currency, the Kwacha, by removing the three zeros from the denominations. The debasing was aimed at curbing the levels of inflation that had caused the local currency to depreciate thereby affecting the economy negatively. After the debasing, the highest note became the K100 and the five ngwee (the coin) became the lowest denomination. The high inflationary levels had resulted from the 1990s' high-inflation that, at one time, peaked at about two-hundred per cent. Since the three zeros had been part and parcel of Zambian currency for decades, the majority of Zambians are used to the 'thousands' so much that even today some people refer to the K100 as hundred thousand kwacha.

then the church had about eighty registered or permanent members worshipping in a makeshift shelter. By the time the study was done in 2013, the membership at Kwacha-PAOG had gone up to about two hundred congregants with about a hundred and sixty registered members. The main challenge that the new pastor faced was the lack of finances and, according to him (Pastor Banda, interview, 13/5/2013), this was because most of the people did not have regular and reliable incomes. In the following interview excerpts, pastor Banda (Interview, 13/5/2013) described the situation when he arrived and the challenges that he faced.

> *Describe the situation when you came to Kwacha Assemblies.* […]. When I came to Kwacha Assemblies of God, I found that people were used to a different servant of God. There was an elderly man, so it was difficult for them to adjust, to get used to me. By then, I was younger than the one who was there, so it was quite difficult for them and some decided to leave the church. […]. The church struggled financially because most of the members of the church were just idle and not involved in any form of business or income-generating project. When we came, the financial situation was pathetic because we were getting […] as pastor support in 2002. From that […], you must sustain yourself as a pastor. Apart from that, you must tithe […] remaining with […] to look after your family and support the church in one way or another. Now, thank God, the church has grown tremendously from one level to another level in such a way that, today, the pastor-support is about […]. The awareness among our church members of the need to support the man of God and the work of God has increased. Consequently, the finances of the church improved considerably. At that time, the income of the church was about […] per month, but today it is about […] per-month.

The situation at Kwacha-PAOG, as described by pastor Banda from the above excerpt, was dire. The congregation had just moved to the new site and church attendance was very low. As a result, the church was struggling to stay afloat financially. With the church in financial and economic crisis, the pastor's priority was to guide the church through this crisis. Banda indicated that a few years after his arrival, the financial picture of the church had improved with the increase in the levels of tithing and giving. As I have indicated earlier, the time I was conducting my research in 2013, Kwacha-PAOG was in the process of putting up a building structure for worship. The church members were congregating under a shelter, but the rising numbers demanded a much bigger and secure place of worship. The first phase of the church building was almost complete, and they were in the process of raising funds to start the second phase of the project (*see* figures 4 and 5 below). At the same time, a wall-fence was being erected around the church premises to secure them from burglary and vandalism, problems common in the area. The finances for these projects were being raised, as pastor Banda explained, through Sunday church offerings and tithe-collections, in zone-departments and cell-gatherings. Pastor Banda (Interview, 8/5/2013) also informed me that the church decided to use its premises as a night-pay-carpark to augment the church's income.

> *During this period, what did you tell the people?* What was your message? […]. I brought the message of transformation in their personal lives, families, businesses and workplaces and, as a result, they began to move and do things according to the spirit of the time […]. Therefore, the message was of transformation, hope and assurance that in God you can build your own house, business and get promoted at work. Sooner than later we began to see these things happening in their lives in such a way that, today, every church member is working, doing something, whether be self-employed or otherwise […]. At least every church member is quite busy doing something because of the lessons that we brought. Today, they can do something, to venture out and work hard and be promoted at work and, because of that, the church is benefiting. Because of the total transformation that is taking place in their lives, the condition of their families is no longer the same. Most of them were not committed to supporting their children's education because they did not see any sense in pumping their hard-earned money into children's education. However, they have now seen the value of educating their children. Now you can see that the church has gone somewhere financially, is going somewhere where business is concerned. The more they work hard, the more they tithe. The more they support the church financially, the more they become relevant to their community.

Pastor Banda attributed the financial growth and transformation of Kwacha-PAOG to the message that he brought to the church. Pastor Banda described this message as the 'gospel of transformation/restoration' since it was based on the conviction that 'in God everything is possible'. The message was not only meant to give hope to a people facing economic hardships but also to change the believers' perception of life in general. The message, as he pointed out, changed the lives of his congregants as it enabled them to support their families and the church. In other words, the message seems to have brought about an upward economic mobility and an increase in individual entrepreneurship and enterprise among the congregants. Is this 'gospel of transformation' the same as the 'prosperity gospel'? Pastor Banda (Interview, 1/6/2013) denied the suggestion that his message was the prosperity gospel that the new Pentecostal churches preach and argued that his message simply emphasised the value of the Word of God (henceforth, the Word) in the life of the believer. His (Pastor Banda, interview, 1/6/2013) opinion was that money should not be dominating the message from the pulpit:

> *Do you, sometimes, preach about money, offering, tithing and the like?* Here at Kwacha Assembly what I normally do is to go door-to-door and begin to talk to them about the importance of giving, on how they should support the work of God. In that way, the people will come out openly and tell you what is in their hearts. [...]. Speaking at the pulpit about sowing a seed is misunderstood in the church, especially today because it is now a daily thing in churches. Even when a new member comes to church, he (/she) now expects the man of God to talk about money. When a person is born-again, you introduce that person to Jesus,

> he (/she) begins to love God, and God begins to rule that life. It becomes easier for that person to open up to the will of God because he (/she) is now sensitive to the voice of God. The person is no longer rigid when it comes to supporting the work of God. It becomes easier because you have made that person to be alert to the voice of God. Therefore, the most important thing is to teach the Word, to teach or to educate that person, to make him (/her) go deeper into the Word so that salvation begins to manifest in him (/her). When salvation begins to manifest in that life, giving will never be a problem. Some people in church become so critical when giving is concerned because they are not saved.

In the above excerpt, pastor Banda argues that, unlike in prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism, the entry point is neither tithing nor giving but having a deeper faith and knowledge of Jesus Christ. When one is born again and is experiencing salvation, the individual will be able to tithe and support the church financially. There is something unique about pastor Banda's 'gospel': he avoided an extensive approach to the subject of giving and tithing as a topic. To him, giving is more about discipleship than about money, that is, the more people grow spiritually the more they give. Giving is a personal indicator of the depth of one's relationship with God. Therefore, according to pastor Banda, his message was about salvation and not prosperity. As a result, pastor Banda pointed out that the offerings, tithes and project contributions had risen over the years since the members had responded and submitted themselves to the Word. This explains why the people were able to put up a wall-fence around the church premises and contribute to the main building project. It seems tithing and giving are the exit points of the message.

Pastor Banda's characterisation of the prosperity gospel and his message is subject to debate. Some scholars have pointed out that entrepreneurship, empowerment, transformation and restoration, the same themes that dominated pastor Banda's message at Kwacha PAOG, are the nucleus of the African version of prosperity gospel. For instance, the Nigerian scholar David Ogungbile (2014:139) wrote:

> The content of the theology of African Pentecostal prosperity could focus on transformation, restoration, and empowerment. Thus, prosperity gospel preachers maintain the underlining factor of possessing the spirit of prosperity in order to counter the spirit of poverty, which is claimed to be the cause of African problems. It will be important to identify some theological vocabularies that underscore the spiritual focus of the African Pentecostal prosperity gospel practice: anointing for breakthrough, open doors, open heavens, financial independence, do-it-now gospel of wealth, economic dominion, economic success, economic survival, and so on. Prosperity has no limit or scope. However, material acquisition is central, and money is crucial. (*see also* Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:354–5)

Figure 4: Kwacha-PAOG – The Outside View, copyright © 2013 by the author

Figure 5: Kwacha-PAOG – The Inside View, copyright © 2013 by the author

4.4 The Church, Money and Transparency

Pastor Banda attributed the growth of the Kwacha-PAOG to two factors. The first was the above-mentioned 'gospel of transformation/restoration' and the other was the transparent lifestyle of the pastor and the administration of the church. According to pastor Banda, his transparent administration enabled him to carry out several projects by educating church members about his policy and vision for the church. To encourage and motivate members to support the church projects, I noticed that the pastor and the deacons regularly informed the members every Sunday and during cell-gatherings about all the weekly transactions that included tithes, offerings, car park income and expenditures. To pastor Banda (Interview, 8/5/2013), when handling church money, his strategy was to let the church members decide on how they would like their money to be used. According to him (Pastor Banda, interview, 8/5/2013), this strategy had been successful during the twelve years he had been working at Kwacha-PAOG:

> *How do you deal with the issue of financial transparency?* Transparency is another cardinal thing for the servant of God. What I normally do when it comes to transparency is to inform the church every Sunday about any money transaction in the church. We do not wait for the year-end to inform the church members about the tithes and offerings that we see. We inform the members every Sunday about the income and expenditure so that they know how their money is used. We collect our offerings in our zone-departments, in our cell meetings and we announce them every Sunday in church. Also, we do announce in church the expenditure of all the monies that we do receive. Every year we have an annual general meeting, which helps us to bring out issues so that they can ask questions and contribute in one way or another to the running of the church. […]. If you just impose ideas on them, they do not feel that they are part and parcel of what is

> happening in the church. In that way, we create a gap between the administration and church members. When there is that gap between the administration and the church members, the church members will not support the work of the church. However, we try to bring them together, the church administration and the church members, to fuse them […] therefore, whenever we meet some financial difficulties we approach the church members and consult them on how to raise money for the security fence, to build a new church structure, to support the widows and to ensure that other things are settled accordingly.

The previous interview excerpt reveals the rationale behind pastor Banda's approach. The main point here is that when it comes to church finances, people should be taught personally, and not from the pulpit so that they could have the opportunity to ask questions and learn more about how the church operates and its challenges. The interview excerpt below further reveals how this approach was unravelled:

> The other thing is that we go around door to door to our church members, to educate them and to make them aware of how we are utilising the church finances. Therefore, we teach them in their homes so that they can have the opportunity to ask questions. If you do not handle finances well, people will either stop coming to church or will accuse you, the man of God, of misappropriating church money. When a person comes to church, what he (/she) wants to know when he (/she) enters the church, is how you handle church finances. Moreover, when he (/she) knows how these finances are handled, he (/she) is either attracted to join the church or you make him (/her) disappear. That is what we normally do because for us standing in front of the people every now and then talking about money is not an issue. We do not spend much of our time talking about money in front of the people. (Pastor Banda, interview, 8/5/2013)

Apart from financial transparency, the other influential factor at Kwacha-PAOG was the pastor's transparent lifestyle. Kwacha-PAOG is a typical township church that does not boast of state-of-the-art infrastructure like other Pentecostal and charismatic Churches in Kitwe. Pastor Banda's lifestyle is like that of an average township dweller that does not identify or make him outstanding as a pastor of a Pentecostal church. During the time the study was conducted, he had no vehicle, and his house was a three-bedroomed apartment with modest furniture. Talking to him and some church members, I noticed that the church members believed that the progress and the overall growth of Kwacha-PAOG largely depended on the pastor's conduct and character as the 'man of God'. In fact, pastor Banda attributed the growth of the Kwacha-PAOG to his transparent lifestyle and administration. The 'man (or woman) of God', according to pastor Banda (Interview, 8/5/2013), should live an exemplary life that does not separate him/her from the people he/she serves. The pastor should not live a lavish and exaggerated lifestyle and, most importantly, the 'man (or woman) of God' should lead the church members in giving and tithing. Several participants informed me that the life

and conduct of the 'man (or woman) of God' was the reason why they joined the Kwacha-PAOG.

From these interviews with pastor Banda and from my own observations, there is one discernible conclusion: Kwacha-PAOG is a church that emphasises transparency in the administration of the church and in the personal life of the pastor. The word 'righteousness' is clearly visible in this approach. By insisting that 'We do not spend much of our time talking about money' (Pastor Banda, interview, 8/5/2013), one can argue that pastor Banda was underlining 'financial righteousness', that is, the prioritisation of the Word over worldly pursuits. The other dimension of righteousness, according to the participants, was reflected in the personal life and conduct of the resident pastor. The pastor's lifestyle did not create a gulf between the 'man (or woman) of God' and the church members.

4.5 Pentecostal Life and Corruption

This section focuses on the question: in what way does the spirituality of Kwacha-PAOG help the believer to engage with the problem of corruption?

4.5.1 The experience of being born-again

During the interviews at Kwacha-PAOG, I found it very difficult and imprudent to begin the conversations by direct questions about the relationship between corruption and the life of the congregation. In most of the interviews and discussions, the believer's experience of conversion or being born-again (in Bemba, *ukufyalwa cipya cipya*) was the springboard for most of the conversations. As a result, from the very beginning of the study, I realised that no discussion could take place without affording the participant some space to tell the story about his/her born-again experience and how this experience affected his/her life (§2.4.2). The subject of corruption, in most cases, flowed naturally into the discussion as it was linked with the questions about morality and being born-again. I was impressed by the passion they exhibited when narrating their faith, especially the stories about their conversions. One participant, 'Francis Phiri' (Interview, 22/6/2013), described his experience when he first attended an AOG service:

> *What does it mean to be born-again?* Why is it important in the believer's life? I was born-again many years ago in my village when I went to an Assemblies of God church on a Sunday. I heard the man of God preaching the message. I cannot remember the message, but after the message, he called for an altar call. He called those who had not received Jesus Christ as their Lord and personal Saviour to come in front and give their lives to Christ. I decided to give my life to Christ Jesus because I had not been born-again, I had not been saved. That is when I

> went in front and I gave my life to Christ. The man of God prayed with us and, he led us in confession-prayer and that is how I became born-again [...]. After I was born-again, I started seeing certain things with a certain perception or with a certain view that came about as a result of my salvation. I have seen myself grow from one day to another, into the likeness of Jesus Christ. People who knew me before could bear witness that I had been saved and that my life had changed. Besides, there was that peace, that joy within me and there was an assurance of salvation in me that comes just by believing.

The above testimony is a typical conversion narrative from those who claim to be born-again. Pentecostalism is predicated on a person's encounter with Jesus Christ, the Lord. Conversion is usually described as a personal encounter with Christ which, to most born-again Christians, is the most impactful and life-changing (transforming) experience of their lives. Being born-again is a process that is necessary if one is to attain salvation. Like what one participant said, people who believe in Jesus Christ are on the road to eternity ('Arthur Chanda', interview, 20/7/2013). These rich testimonies could not be ignored when the participants delved into conversion stories or narratives during the interviews. Since all the participants I met in this study claimed to have been born-again, their testimonies were dominated by their experiences of inner moral transformation that led to an outward change in their ways of life. These participants testified to the radical transformation of their lives after being born-again. 'Christine Siwila' (Interview, 21/6/2013), a woman in her sixties and a prominent member of the church, said that being born-again:

> has changed my life in a very different way because there are things that I never used to do before I got born-again, before I became serious with the things of God. Ever since I took a step in God, things have changed dramatically in my life. When you are a born-again believer, your speech, your conduct and your face will change. You will reflect God in everything that you do and to other people as well.

The participant's emphasis on the born-again transformation is noteworthy in that it begs the question: in what sense does this transformation help the believer to handle the challenges of living in a corrupt society? 'Donald Mwansa' (Interview, 5/5/2013) pointed out that being born-again cushions the believer from the attractions or temptations of immoral or corrupt activities:

> I only became born-again in 1995. What I have seen here at Kwacha Assemblies is the emphasis on the friendship with the Holy Spirit, the relationship that one should build with the Holy Spirit. […]. When I became born-again, the change was quite big because I used to drink beer and do other things without any feeling of guilt. I used to drink beer at the end of the week or during weekends and go to church on Sundays without having any bad feeling about it. However, today, whenever I go off track, there is that conviction which just comes in me which causes me to feel very uncomfortable and misplaced, so to say.

One of the participants, 'Richard Mwelwa' (Interview, 1/6/2013), proudly told me that, since he became born-again, he had not solicited or accepted any bribe when accessing public services because God enabled him to get whatever service he wanted as a reward of being a faithful and true believer. In his ('Richard Mwelwa', interview, 1/6/2013) words, '[...] if you really want something from God, then God will give you no matter how much money [or bribe] they demand'. 'Bwalya Mulenga' (Interview, 21/6/2013) informed me that she was working as a civil servant. She emphasised that being born-again enabled her to handle the challenges and temptations that were associated with her work as a government official. In Zambia, and in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, there is a general perception among the public that the civil service system is riddled with corruption. She ('Bwalya Mulenga', interview, 21/6/2013) explained that she was able to resist the temptation of soliciting or accepting bribes because she feared God and that her workmates could testify to that.

What the interviews reveal is the standardised formulas the participants used to describe their conversion experiences: 'receiving Jesus into one's life or heart'; 'being saved or born-again'; 'accepting Christ as one's Lord and Saviour'; 'abhorrence of alcohol and sexual immorality'; and other similar formulas. These expressions symbolise a 'break with the past' (§1.3.3). To the participants, the conversion was an experience that involved a dramatic change in their identity and worldview. According to Gooren (2010:107), reflecting on these conversion narratives, one can suggest that Pentecostalism offers an alternative framework to guide the believer's daily life. In these narratives, sanctification or purity is the key element because 'many converts described how easy it was to maintain a new and far more disciplined lifestyle, free of alcohol abuse and adultery. They talked about finding God in their lives and about feeling at peace' (2010:106).

Another aspect that should be highlighted from this section is the distinction between born-again Christians and churchgoers. From the discussions, one could the impression that most of the participants were separating the 'real' Christians from those who just attend church services ('ordinary' Christians) with the born-again falling into the former category ('Chanda Chileshe', interview, 17/8/2013). This categorisation was evident in our discussion on corruption and the born-again. Once a person is born-again, he/she now lives in the Spirit and no longer 'lives in the world'. Thus, unlike churchgoers, the lives of born-again Christians are morally distinguishable from the 'world'. The following section shall attempt to examine this distinction in detail.

4.5.2 'A true born-again is not corrupt!'

During my fieldwork, I attended several Sunday services and cell-gatherings and listened to several sermons and Bible discussions. Pastor Banda's teaching ministry could be described a 'holiness-oriented ministry' because it emphasised moral purity and ethical behaviour. What I noticed was that the pastor never preached on corruption or considered it as a topic of

discussion during cell-gatherings. Even pastor Banda himself (Interview, 1/6/2017) admitted to me that he had never addressed directly the problem of corruption in his sermons and teachings.

> *Have you ever touched the topic of the problem of corruption in your sermons or seminars?* I have not taught specifically on corruption, but I have taught about living a righteous life, which is also about avoiding corruption in one way. The most important thing is for a child of God to live a righteous life. We are trying, by the grace of God, to educate the church members so that they can live a holy and righteous life, and when they live a righteous life they can avoid and resist corruption. In that way, it will help the church and the community.

The above interview excerpt reveals, in my view, what pastor Banda's and the church thought about the problem of corruption, namely, it was only a manifestation of a deeper spiritual problem that should be dealt with in the first place. The panacea to the problem of corruption, says pastor Banda (Interview, 13/52013), is to be a 'real' born-again Christian. The transformation that born-again believers experience makes it impossible for them to be involved in corrupt activities. According to him (Pastor Banda, interview, 13/52013), the message that could help the people to deal with corruption is the fear of God. The 'true' born-again have the fear of God and it is, therefore, impossible for them to be involved in corrupt activities. In Pentecostal parlance, 'fear of God' is not a negative attribute in the sense of fearing a backlash for failing live up to the standards of God. This 'fear of God' is respect for God that makes a believer act with complete integrity without expecting a reward for doing so. According to Pastor Banda (Interview, 13/5/2013):

> *How should a born-again Christian respond to the problem of corruption?* If a Christian is to avoid corrupt activities, there must be fear of God. The lack of fear of God is the reason why most people inside and outside the church get involved in corruption and use some dubious ways and means to have some financial breakthroughs […]. If the church members are to avoid these dubious ways of financial enrichment, they must have the fear of God […]. Most of us find ourselves being involved in these ways of acquiring things, but because of the fear of God, God himself just prepares the way for us in everything. Therefore, God fights for those people who do fear his Word. God always stands on their behalf, God always speaks on their behalf, and God always honours their obedience [...]. When you enter the office of a public figure, practice the fear of God. When you want to acquire a plot (a piece of land), practice the fear of God and when you want to prosper financially, practice the fear of God.

'Noel Tembo' (Interview, 12/10/2013), one of the youths at this church, points to moral change that comes with repentance/confession of sin to highlight the born-again's incompatibility with corruption. This point, which I shall discuss in the last chapter, has been the focus of recent Pentecostal and charismatic studies, for instance, Sitna Quiroz (2016:102)

argues that Pentecostal and charismatic 'ethical practice' that subjects believers to public repentance/confession of sin has a transformative effect on the moral conduct of the believer. In the same way, 'Noel Tembo' (Interview, 12/10/2013) pointed out that a true born-again does not live in sin and whenever one sins and then repents God is always there to forgive sins. A true believer is not comfortable in sin because '[...]. He is going to be guilty before God and is going to repent'. He argued that people who profess to be born-again and are at the same time involved in corruption or live in sin are not truly born-again. In his ('Noel Tembo', interview, 12/10/2013) view, in the church, there are truly born-again and others who pretend to be born-again and the latter are the people who are always involved in immoral activities:

> *What do you say about who are found in corrupt activities?* A true believer is not comfortable in sin. He (/she) is going to be guilty before God and is going to repent […]. *But there are some born-again believers, some prominent ones, who are seen participating in corrupt activities*. I would say most of them are not just born-again or I would say are not just true believers […]. If those people, the very same people, are found in corrupt activities, we tend to blame all the believers, but they are not even true children of God. So, I think, in as much as we know that we are living in this corrupt world and people who profess to be Christians are found in such corrupt practices, true born-again believers cannot be found in corrupt practices.

According to 'Kevin Chama' (Interview, 12/10/2013), a prominent member of the church, the determining factor is how the believer relates to Christ. What is important in Christian life is to understand who Christ is: he is not only the greatest of all beings but also perfect. Christians are related or connected to Jesus Christ just as the branches are connected to the tree. It is not possible for the branches to go bad if the tree is healthy or vice versa. Those who are one with Christ cannot and will not go bad. The life of Christ that is in the believer does not only make him/her morally healthy but also healthy in all spheres of life. Believers have a special, deep and intimate, relationship with Christ and because of that '[...] what he has deposited in you [...] will make you successful in life' ('Kevin Chama', interview, 12/10/2013).

> Now, how do the branches become corrupt when their roots do not have such a condition? What he has deposited in you will make you successful in life. According to God's purpose, you will prosper in life. He does not want to see disaster in us but wants us to prosper [...]. So the most important thing is that you have to look at God because when you put God in your life you understand that God is everywhere [...] so when you understand that position that God is seeing what you are doing, God is hearing what you are speaking, then you will be able to know and uphold the Christian standards.

The born-again believer is full of the Spirit, says 'Chola Chilufya' (Interview, 12/10/2013), and the Spirit directs the life of the believer on a day-to-day basis, so much that it is impossible for him/her, filled with the Spirit, to be involved in corrupt activities. According to him ('Chola

Chilufya', interview, 12/10/2013), nothing takes place in a believer's life without the involvement of the Spirit. Being born-again refers to living a life of Christ and it is the Spirit that directs and guides the believer's life. The Spirit is like a light that brings the life of God in the believer's life. According to 'Chola Chilufya' (Interview, 12/10/2013):

> Because I am filled with the Holy Spirit, I have reached a higher level of maturity in the way I handle and approach issues. Even when I am confronted, I can wait for the Holy Spirit to guide me in the way I should respond when I face certain situations. The Spirit is like a light that brings the life of God in the believer's life, therefore, there is no way that somebody can say that he (/she) has accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour then mix with darkness, it does not match. Darkness and light do not mix darkness is darkness and light is light […].
>
> *What about those who claim to be born-again but are involved in corrupt activities?* Some people go to church, they could even be members for ten years, but have not accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and personal Saviour. A person who accepts that feels guilty when he (/she) does something wrong.

From these interviews, the emphasis on the incongruity between being born-again and involvement in corruption is unequivocally clear. To the participants, being born-again is an experience that transforms an individual on a personal or subjective level and changes an individual's worldview. Because of this transformation, the participants argued, it is not possible for the born-again to be involved in corrupt activities. Now, how do we interpret and understand these testimonies? Is there any evidence to support these claims that 'born-again believers cannot be involved in corruption'? If a born-again believer is subjected to something like an 'ethical scale' that evaluates the person's activities from a moral standpoint, how will the individual perform? In an interview with *Pentecostals and Charismatics for Peace and Justice*, Don Miller, the founder of the *Centre for Religion and Civic Culture* (2017), pointed out that, 'Pentecostals oftentimes move into management positions because they are deemed by employers to be honest and hardworking'. Daniel Smith (2017:211) presented an interview with a young born-again in Nigeria who said to him, 'I am not saying that no Christians are involved. Even some so-called born-agains are corrupt, but people who have really accepted Christ are more humble. They have more integrity. They fear God'. Freeman (2012:15) also observed that:

> Pentecostals place a strong emphasis on moral purity and ethical behaviour. They refuse, in theory and often in practice, to give or receive bribes or to engage in other forms of corruption. They observe strict injunctions against theft and lying, and place particular emphasis on honesty and reliability, clean and smart appearance, and marital fidelity. While not everyone can live up to these high standards, it is widely believed, both inside and outside Pentecostal communities, that Pentecostals are in general more honest, trustworthy and hard-working than other people.

The absence of the theme of corruption in pastor Banda's sermons and teachings is also noteworthy. To a Pentecostal, transformation on a personal or subjective level is the best antidote for corruption and other 'moral diseases'. For one to transform a corrupt community to a God-fearing one, one must undergo transformation at the subjective level. From the interviews, the perception among the participants is that what God demands of them is, among other things, to live upright moral lives. Like what Freeman (2012:14) says:

> Pentecostals and charismatics are extremely effective in bringing about dramatic changes in subjectivity […]. They focus on a 'revision of consciousness' […], a 'remaking of the individual' […], a 'reorientation of persons' […]. The key element in this transformation of subjectivity, however, is a shift from seeing oneself as a victim to seeing oneself as a victor […]. Through their engagement with pastors and other church members, in study, prayer and healing, these people begin to see themselves as valued individuals, part of God's people, a 'somebody' rather than a 'nobody'. Most important of all, they begin to move beyond a passive fatalism and come to realize that they have agency in their lives. (*see* §6.2.1 for an analysis of this theme)

4.6 Does the 'Prosperity Gospel' Promote Corruption?

Many people have viewed the prosperity gospel that dominates Pentecostal discourses with suspicion. This is the message that has redefined and reshaped Pentecostal Christianity globally. My discussions with several people in Kitwe left me with the impression that most people on the Copperbelt (and probably in Zambia as a whole) accuse prosperity-oriented Pentecostal Christians of fuelling corruption. The stories about church leaders and members of the church being engaged in corrupt activities and promoting anti-social behaviour, norms and values, have generated a lot of questions. According to some, a disturbing trend is now spreading among prosperity-oriented Pentecostal churches where the pastors (even some rural born-again pastors) have been transformed into mega-rich 'men of God', the traditional African '"big man" who has been reinvented as "the powerful man of God"' (Kalu 2008:113-4; *see also* Ogungbile 2014:138). Most of these Zambia churches, even those that are barely ten years old, have developed into mega-churches (with massive infrastructure) overnight.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the prosperity gospel has also been responsible for driving thousands of rural and urban youths to fill Pentecostal and charismatic churches. However, through the prosperity gospel', the poverty-stricken and unsuspecting urban dwellers, according to 'Regis Zulu' (Interview, 1/6/2013), are 'corrupted' into placing their hopes and fate into the hands of prosperity-oriented churches:

> Corruption takes place when you twist the mind of anyone. Maybe the purpose is to get money or to be wealthy and all those things. When you just play with the

> mind of somebody and twist the mind of a person, then you have corrupted that person. Therefore, when you try to change the way, somebody thinks and so that he (/she) begins to think otherwise, then you have corrupted the mind of that person.

Because of this perceived manipulative or exploitative strategies, corruption can also be found in churches:

> The way pastors preach corrupts the people. This 'sow-a-seed', 'sow-a-seed', 'plant-a-seed', and all those things is just playing with the mind of the people. Pastors just twist the way people think and entice them to give where they are not supposed to do so. They force the people to do something that they are not supposed to do; they are just forced to do something. This is corruption from the pulpit to the members. (Interview, 1/6/2013)

Another participant, 'Patrick Chewe' (Interview, 1/6/2013), pointed out that corruption means 'going against what is right'. What is right is what the Bible says and, therefore, '[...] when you do what is not commanded by the Bible, then what you are doing is not the right thing. Moreover, righteousness is doing the right thing. Something unrighteous is something that is not the right thing […]'. 'Patrick Chewe' (Interview, 1/6/2013) argues that blessings from God reflects what God says in the Bible and this does not lead one into sin. He ('Patrick Chewe', interview, 1/6/2013) pointed out that some people grab corrupt opportunities as God-given blessings:

> *Some of the new churches talk about 'favour,' a blessing or opportunity from God. What would you say about that?* Some of these Christians argue that 'it is God who has given me this opportunity, God is providing me with this opportunity. It is a God-given opportunity and it is God who is blessing me in this way. If I do not grab this opportunity, then I am throwing away my blessings.' So, when you think that this is an opportunity from God, the next question is, 'is this so-called opportunity from God, a righteous thing? Is it the right way to acquire something? Is it the right procedure to take when you want a job?' The question is, what does the Bible say? What does the Bible say about this blessing?

Unlike 'Patrick Chewe', 'Dennis Sichinga' (Interview, 12/10/2013) believes that there is nothing wrong in preaching about blessings and prosperity. According to him, the message of Kwacha-PAOG is that born-again believers have many blessings from God that they should be aware of and should be able to tap. The emphasis is 'to know how they should live as children of God'. The life of Jesus Christ is a model life for born-again believers. The way Jesus Christ lived is the same way born-again believers should live their life. Although 'Dennis Sichinga' (Interview, 12/10/2013) admitted that there are people who take advantage of the gospel to enrich themselves, he argued that the majority 'are coming with a genuine perspective, a genuine motive trying to help the people, children of God, to live a better life. It

is good for the welfare of the community at large if the children of God live a better life and this will benefit those who are impoverished'. The purpose of this message is 'to try to help the children of God, believers, to understand that they have been privileged with so many blessings as children of God'. In his ('Dennis Sichinga', interview, 12/10/2013) words:

> The message we are giving to the people is about how the child of God should live. We do this because we understand the blessings that every child of God possesses in the Lord. Most believers in this world are suffering because of ignorance […]. Most of the believers are not living the way they should be living as children of God. […]. Jesus Christ gave us a classic example of how the children of God should live here on earth. If Jesus Christ never got sick, then, it is possible for us to live a life without sickness […]. I do not accept that Jesus Christ was poor as some people put it. He confessed himself that he took our frailties for our sins. In short, we are supposed to live a life of frailties, but he took it. Nothing that pertains to frailty and speaks of frailty comes from God […]. As a child of God, it is not a sin to be rich or to live a better life […]. To be poor is not a good thing because you are not going to live up to the standard […]. The truth of the matter is that as children of God, we should live a good life.

From the above interview excerpt, there seemed to be a strong belief in the material transformation of the believer that is related or connected to the redemptive work of Christ. This belief is not unique to Kwacha-PAOG. According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2010:65), it is one of the hallmarks of the prosperity gospel:

> Pentecostals preach a holistic concept of salvation. The encounter with the transformation and healing ministry of the Lord makes possible the realization of God-given abilities and potentialities in life […] there is continuity between coming to Christ and experiencing a redemptive uplift that is evidenced partly through the possession of the material comforts of life. Neo-Pentecostals in particular preach that there are links between being born again and the realization of personal ambitions in life in terms of success and prosperity.

André Corten and Marshall-Fratani (2001:7) expressed this relationship more succinctly when they wrote that in Pentecostal Christianity:

> The emphasis on miracles of health and prosperity which are at the heart of the new wave implies a new relationship between the experience of conversion and the concept of salvation […]. Salvation is now absolutely this-worldly, and the evidence of new life has become as much material as spiritual. Moral rigor and strict personal ethics have not been superseded, yet the notion of transformation has been broadened to include the possibility of material change in everyday life.

4.7 Summary and Reflection

To summarise the ethnographic study on Kwacha-PAOG, the following aspects should be highlighted. In the first place, pastor Banda described the teaching ministry at Kwacha-PAOG as the 'gospel of transformation/restoration' that stresses the belief in a God who can transform/restore the lives of the believers in all spheres. The message, according to pastor Banda, encouraged Kwacha fellowship to work hard and embrace an entrepreneurial spirit. The other aspect is the Kwacha emphasis on transparency in the administration of the church's resources and the lifestyle of the pastor. This transparency was critical in the life of the congregation because it enabled the people to have confidence and trust in the pastor's ministry. Another aspect that is noticeable from the conversations with Kwacha fellowship is that their theological-orientation, in my view, maybe closer to the theology of classical Pentecostalism rather than to prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism.

The pastor and the participants expressed suspicion over prosperity-oriented Pentecostals who emphasise the importance of material success as a testimony of God's favour. Teachings in this church placed special emphasis on the need to live a righteous life. When a Pentecostal observes strict moral conduct, he/she is assured of gaining God's favour and receive God's blessing as a reward. To Kwacha fellowship, corruption should be understood in the context of 'real' conversion and the subsequent post-conversion process of transformation. 'Real' conversion takes place when one is born-again, and this experience makes him/her 'break with the past' corrupt values and norms and repent if one fails to do that. The born-again believer cannot be involved in corruption because he/she always attempt to live up to the moral and spiritual demands of Christ. The problem of corruption is a spiritual problem that can only be handled by being right with God, that is, being morally upright.

In concluding this chapter, it is important to underline that Kwacha-PAOG is a church that caters for economically disadvantaged people. As I have pointed out in §4.3.1, most of the people in Kwacha township are low and middle-income earners most of whom are either unemployed or with a few being employed by the struggling mining industry. Despite the booming mining industry, the unemployment levels on the Copperbelt are very high and Kwacha dwellers have not been left untouched by these economic challenges. Given these economic challenges, there is no doubt that this congregation attempts to meet these challenges in a different way and that the general life of the church reflects, in one way or the other, the life of the people in Kwacha. In this harsh economic environment, the narrative that came from the participants was that the born-again believer does not get involved in corrupt activities to be economically transformed. God is *able* and *willing* to deliver the believers out of the doldrums of poverty and general lack.

Although most of the participants acknowledged the reality and the depth of corruption in their community, they categorically denied the presence of the phenomenon among born-again Christians. The born-again Christians (the true born-again) cannot be involved in

corrupt activities because they have the character of Jesus Christ and the Spirit dwells in them. When the believer responds genuinely to the working of the Word and the Spirit, God will enable him/her to succeed economically without being involved in corrupt activities. Pastor Banda (and the participants) attributed the transformation at Kwacha-PAOG to his 'gospel of transformation/restoration' that stressed that God has the power to make ways for the believer. While this may be interpreted simply as Pentecostal naivety about the capacity of born-again to succumb to moral failure, all the participants testified to their post-conversion discontinuity with corrupt life to buttress the moral claims in question.

5. Case Study Two – Kitwe BLCI Church

> I preach prosperity and the message of salvation, too [...] our churches are growing, theirs are shrinking. (Imakando, cited in Phiri and Maxwell 2007:24)

5.1 Introduction

Having presented, in the previous chapter, the case study on the discourse on corruption within Kwacha-PAOG, this chapter presents another case study done at Kitwe-BLCI. The second section (§5.2) is devoted to the context of Kitwe-BLCI. This section begins by introducing the congregation with a focus on its history (§5.2.1 and §5.2.2). The theology of the presiding/founding bishop, Joseph Imakando, dominates sub-section §5.2.3 to emphasise his influence on the vision and life of the church in general. In my view, any discussion in Zambia about BLCI cannot avoid or sidestep the questions generated by the bishop's lifestyle and the effect it has on the public perception of ethical values and norms within Pentecostal and charismatic churches. After this introduction, the study moves to examine how Kitwe-BLCI is conceptualising the problem of corruption and how the members are responding to this conceptualisation. Consequently, the focus was not on the institution or the pastor but the individual's perception of corruption in the society.

To investigate this question, the third section (§5.3) explores critically the BLCI's vision and especially its relationship with the prosperity gospel. What do the members say about the perceived emphasis on (or obsession with) prosperity and money in this church and how does this affect their perception of corruption? The fourth section (§5.4) investigates the discourse on corruption within Kitwe-BLCI by examining the question: how transparent is this congregation when it comes to finances? The main sources for the material that makes up this chapter are the interviews and the fieldwork conducted between July and August 2013. Interviews were conducted with about nineteen members of Kitwe-BLCI, from ordinary churchgoers to prominent members within the church. The reluctance of pastor Mumba to be interviewed for this study (*see* §2.4.1) means that the analysis that is presented in this chapter is based on the member's conception of corruption that would have been strengthened if the pastor had agreed to be interviewed. Nevertheless, observations and participation in several church meetings and activities have, hopefully, added some weight and depth to the analysis.

5.2 The Case Context

The study setting is Kitwe-BLCI, a Zambian initiated/instituted Pentecostal church situated in the middle of one of the high-income suburbs in Kitwe.

5.2.1 Bread of Life Church International: The Beginnings

BLCI traces its roots to the late 1970s and 1990s period, to what is known in Pentecostal and charismatic circles, as one of the most fruitful periods in the history of Christianity. During this time, a new movement was gaining global prominence, especially in the late 1980s to 1990s, through the ministries of American televangelists like Oral Roberts, Billy Graham, Ernest Angley, Benny Hinn, Pat Robertson, Paul Crouch and others (Drew Smith 1999:535). Emphasising 'power evangelism', that is, preaching accompanied by signs and miracles, this movement became 'the fastest growing segment in the Pentecost and charismatic movement in the English-speaking world, spreading to become hundreds of independent global networks' (1999:535). In Zambia, 'American-based evangelical, charismatic, and Pentecostal churches began arriving in the country in greater numbers' and, as a result, the number of Pentecostal and charismatic Christians in the country increased dramatically (1999:535).

During this period, the rise of new Pentecostalism, the 'New Wave' movement, led to the popularity of Pentecostal beliefs and practices and this made Pentecostalism a spiritual platform on which personal and public matters were contested. Patrick Johnstone (1995) points out that 'between 1970 and 1990, evangelicals in Zambia doubled from roughly 6 to 12 per cent of the country's overall population and that Pentecostals increased from 1 per cent to around 3 per cent during the same period') (cited in Drew Smith 1999:535). In the words of Austin Cheyeka (2008:153), 'By 1980, Zambian Christians constituted 72% of the country's population. It was much higher percentage than that of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, for which the average was 53%. A number of Charismatic churches, ministries or fellowships were formed during this period'.

Describing the Pentecostal and charismatic movements during this period, Lumbe (2008:74) writes, 'the movement rapidly grew in numbers, and likewise, so did the numbers of Churches planted. The proportionate growth in both was evenly spread'. Because of this upsurge, Pentecostal beliefs and practices began to infiltrate mainline Christian churches leading to serious fissures and theo-liturgical tensions. As Kalu (2008:5) wrote, the influence of Pentecostal 'vitality of practice, high visibility in the public space, and the intensity of the debate caused by its diatribe against traditional religion, cultural practices, and the alleged compromises by other forms of Christianity' did not leave mainline Christianity unscratched. To large sections of mainline Christians, praise and worship, 'Alleluia-Amen', 'altar-calls', born-again experiences, healings and deliverances and other 'Pentecostal'-inclined practices were unacceptable. As a result, most of the 'charismatic' believers in the mainline churches

ended up being ostracised by their own communities leaving them with no option but to break away (Lumbe 2008:74; Cheyeka 2008:153).

A few cases that gained notoriety in the 1980s and 1990s can, summarily, be discussed here. In 1982, some missionaries belonging to CMML (*see* §4.2.1) were exposed to Pentecostalism in England. When these missionaries came to Zambia, a theological problem started brewing within the CMML and eventually a rift erupted. The tension deepened and this prompted the charismatic CMML group, led by Gordon Surcklin, to leave the church and start the *Christian Fellowships in Zambia* (Lumbe 2008:53). Another case took place in 1990 when some *United Church of Zambia* (UCZ) youth gatherings began to experience encounters with the Spirit, experiences that went against the UCZ beliefs and practices. This created a lot of tension, discomfort and in-fighting within the UCZ as conservative members vehemently opposed the development of charismatic worship. Several mediating efforts failed to reach a compromise as the UCZ leaders rejected any arrangement, demanding the immediate expulsion of the 'charismatic' group from the church. The group moved out of the church in August 1993 and formed *Grace Mission Ministries International* (GMMI) (Lumbe 2008:50–3).

Again, exposure to Pentecostalism seems to have been behind some theological tensions and shifts that rocked the *Reformed Church in Zambia* (RCZ) between 1991 and 2001. In 1992, a senior RCZ pastor ignited controversy when he reportedly confessed publicly his extra-marital affairs, proclaimed himself as God's anointed reformer of the church, and began holding charismatic crusades and revival meetings. After refusing to appear before the church's disciplinary committee, he left the RCZ in 1994 and joined GMMI and before launching his church, the *Grace Outreach Missions International* in 2001 (JK Phiri 2009:156–87). However, 'Pentecostal' practices and beliefs continued to spread in RCZ and, in 2001, nine pastors were excommunicated, and they left to start their church, the Bible Gospel Church in Africa (2009:162).

Apart from migrations from mainline churches, there were also movements from classical Pentecostal churches. According to Lumbe (2008:32), the most affected classical church was the PAOG-Z, which gave birth to most of the Pentecostal and charismatic churches of the time (*see* §4.2.1). One of the outstanding examples that quickly come to mind is Nevers Mumba, a legendary Zambian preacher before he was swallowed by politics. Mumba was a member of Kitwe's Maranatha-PAOG church when he founded the *Victory Bible Church* in 1984 with its headquarters in Kitwe (Freston 2004:85). A disciple of Reinhard Bonnke and product of Dallas's *Christ For All Nations Institute*, Mumba became one of the most influential Zambian Pentecostal leaders of his time (Lumbe 2008:58). Mumba's ministry included a Bible college, television programmes, crusades and social projects. Through his *Zambia Shall Be Saved* television series (that ran from 1984 to 1990), he was the first Zambian televangelist and a key figure of the 'Third Wave' invasion of Zambian Christianity in the late 1980s. In the 1990s, Mumba aligned himself with Chiluba but later broke away accusing Chiluba of departing from Christian morals and not pursuing the 'Christianisation' of Zambia far enough (Freston 2004:85–9).

BLCI is one of the churches that trace its roots to this period. On 21 September 1975, a Baptist fellowship began at the Emmasdale Primary School in Lusaka and started holding prayers and Bible services. As the fellowship grew, the Baptist church in Longacres, Lusaka, decided to transform the fellowship into an English-speaking congregation through its church-planting programme. According to Conrad Mbewe (2010), 'Lusaka Baptist Church is the second oldest English-speaking Baptist church in Zambia, second only to Ndola Baptist Church which was constituted in 1953'. According to him, the Lusaka Baptist church was built in 1960 under the pastorship of Joseph Simfukwe, who was the first black pastor of a Baptist church in Zambia. Emmasdale is a middle-income residential area that is surrounded by low-income townships and, in the late 1970s, was home to the young and educated population (Shakwelele 2007:4). As a result, on 25 June 1975, the Emmasdale fellowship became Emmasdale Baptist church with an initial membership of twenty-eight people (Shakwelele 2007:4; Lumbe 2008:22).

Since the new church was a satellite congregation of the Lusaka Baptist church, it was led by a group of elders and Joseph Imakando was one of them (Lumbe 2008:22; Mwewa 2011:5). A few years later, the Lusaka Baptist church then sent Imakando to study theology in Kenya at Scott Theological College to make him the pastor of Emmasdale Baptist church (Shakwelele 2007:4). Although the Emmasdale Baptist church maintained its Baptist identity, the believers' experience with the Spirit began to change their beliefs regarding some of the doctrines of the church. This spiritual experience affected the youth in the church who were attracted by exorcisms, deliverances and healings; practices and beliefs that were considered un-Baptist. According to Lumbe (2008:22), 'Emmasdale Baptist Church became a centre for Christian activities attracting people from other Churches as well as those who wanted to experience the work of God in their lives'. As the 'Pentecostal' or 'charismatic' reputation of Emmasdale Baptist church grew, it witnessed dramatic numerical growth in the 1980s. The church's new beliefs and practices slowly led to relational problems with other Baptist churches (2008:22). As the rifts with the Baptist fraternity widened, Emmasdale Baptist church finally decided to break away and, on 13 September 1992, the *Bread of Life Church International* was born with Imakando as its head (2008:22).

At its birth in 1992, BLCI had about a hundred and thirty members[26] and was started at 136, Chinyunyu Road, Emmasdale, Lusaka (Shakwelele 2007:4). Describing the impact of the new church on the Christian landscape, Lumbe (2008:22) wrote, 'By 2005 the Church had either incorporated existing Churches or planted new ones on the Copperbelt, in the Western, North Western and Southern Provinces'. By the time of writing, BLCI had about hundred and one branches throughout Zambia and twelve outside the country (two branches in the DRC, Australia, UK, Tanzania and a branch each in South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique and Namibia). The current membership of BLCI in Zambia is difficult to ascertain, but

26 The figures given in various sources vary. Some sources put the initial membership at hundred and twenty, others at hundred and fifty.

Emmasdale-BLCI (the church's headquarters) is believed to have a membership of roughly eleven thousand members (Mwewa 2011:6).

In 1997, BLCI started a weekly broadcasting programme, *The Hour of Blessings*, on Zambia's national television that popularised the new church and helped it to carve a new identity in Zambia's Christian constituency. In 2005, Charles Agyin-Asare of Ghana the founder of *Perez Chapel International* (formerly *Word Miracle Church International*) installed Imakando as the head bishop of BLCI (2011:5).[27] The same year, BLCI launched an ambitious project, the construction of the massive ten-thousand-capacity seater auditorium, the Blessing Centre in Emmasdale, Lusaka. The facility, when it is finally completed, would include a chapel, offices, clinic, Bible school, a primary school, and three studios for television and radio ministry. This ambitious project, according to Scott Taylor (2006:34), signalled 'that U.S.-style televangelism has gained considerable popularity in Zambia'. In Zambia, many people, Pentecostals, and non-Pentecostals alike regard BLCI as a flamboyant church whose perceived North American Pentecostal style of worship, teaching and administrative structures distinguish it from other churches in Zambia. During the study, there was a rumour that BLCI was operating a commercial bank from its Blessing Centre in Lusaka. BLCI (2015a) responded to this rumour by explaining, on the church's website, that 'a local commercial Bank [...] took advantage of the available ultra-modern infrastructure at Bread of Life church to offer Banking services to the surrounding community. So the Bank and the ATM entirely belong to the commercial bank'.

On 19 November 2011, the multi-million-dollar auditorium was commissioned amidst tragedy. During the blessing service, a heavy downpour accompanied by strong winds hit Lusaka and part of the roof of the auditorium collapsed killing a forty-year-old Kitwe-BLCI member. The incident led the Lusaka City Council to investigate whether the building had been officially cleared for public use and occupation (*The Times of Zambia*, 24/11/2011). BLCI (2011) described the storm as a 'demonic storm', and the new auditorium as a 'statement of God's awesome presence in the country. The centre is a beacon of hope for many, a symbol of God's sovereignty, a landmark in the city of Lusaka. It is no surprise that the devil would try anything to destruct or even discredit and put the church in disrepute. In all things we give glory to God'. This incident sent tongues wagging and fuelled rumours about the possible link between prosperity-oriented churches and the occult world.[28] Others

27 Imakando and Agyin-Asare first met in October 1998 during the *World Congress on Intercession, Spiritual Warfare and Evangelism* held in Guatemala City (Mwewa 2011:5).

28 In Zambia, the belief in occultism coincided with the rise of new Pentecostalism and the liberalisation of the economy in the 1990s (Udelhoven 2009a:1). Satanism is believed to be a well-organised and hierarchically structured world and a beginner, as conditions for full admission, is required to perform some specified missions and these include, '[...] sacrificing family members and loved ones, causing road accidents, disturbing Christian prayer meetings, practicing lesbianism and prostitution, causing confusion, breaking marriages, initiating other people into Satanism, etc.' (Udelhoven 2009b:3). Stories of occult economies have been fuelled by the prosperity gospel that seems to attribute socio-economic imbalances, 'fast wealth', and

interpreted the building of the structure as a waste of resources amid poverty. The editorial of the independent daily paper, *The Post* (editorial, 28/4/2013), took a veiled swipe at this structure:

> One very important thing the Christian church brought to this part of the world is education […]. But we also have churches in this country that, despite garnering immense resources from their members, have not engaged in the provision of education and health services. They are spending gigantic sums of money in building huge church structures. For what? Who are they trying to impress? God! Who are they trying to compete with? And most of these churches that are building gigantic church structures are churches that have no social programmes whatsoever. For instance, in Western Province today, the biggest and most expensive church structure is owned by a church that despite having a very large membership in the area has never built a single school or clinic. But today, this church prides itself in having the largest church structure in the province. What is the wisdom behind this? This would look foolish even in the eyes of the Pharisees. Today we have churches that have turned themselves into business organisations. Of course, there is nothing wrong with churches running businesses. But what matters is how the money from such businesses is used. We have churches owning guesthouses and all sorts of businesses all over the country. But what do they do with the money they earn from such businesses? Most of it is spent on the church leadership's allowances and all sorts of expenses, including the education of their children abroad […]. We understand how the old churches were built. These expensive old structures, for most of our churches, were built at a time the church was in league with the rich, the aristocrats in the exploitation of the poor. That history should not be repeated.

Nearly all the branches of BLCI in Zambia can be considered as 'mega-churches' by local standards.[29] Currently, there is a countrywide programme for building small 'blessing centres'

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economic and political power to occult practices. This belief provides answers as to why the born-again are not getting the divine breakthrough, while those who are not born-again seem to be successful. Everything is centred on the power of the 'dark world'. Failure to make a breakthrough is interpreted either as a result of having 'little faith' or a sign that the prosperity path has been contaminated by negative forces. There are suspicions that Pentecostal churches do not only condemn occult practices but are close to the occult world itself. The widely publicised stories of confessed born-again Satanists raise the question whether the wealth and affluence of some Pentecostal 'big men' is a result of divine breakthrough or participation in the occult practices they condemn (Smith 2001:588; *see also* Marshall 1991:34).

29 Although, the widely accepted definition of a megachurch is 'any congregation with a consistent weekly worship attendance of 2,000 or more persons' (Thumma 1996:201), in my view, a congregation that can have about five hundred congregants per Sunday and an extensive programme for those who attend its services is, in my view and according to Zambian standards, a 'mega-church'.

in every district in the country. The first time I visited Kitwe-BLCI, around 2013, the building of the Kitwe Blessing Centre had already commenced, and worshippers were congregating in a semi-completed building. The planned centre comprises of a thousand-seater four-winged worship auditorium and a complex housing the church's office, a boardroom and a canteen. When the auditorium was completed, the following year, it consisted of imported luxury cinema seats, state-of-the-art music and recording equipment. The pace at which the BLCI is growing and the affluence it displays have received mixed reviews from some quarters within the Christian community in Zambia. There is a debate, especially within some sections of the Pentecostal fraternity, whether churches like BLCI are 'Pentecostal' churches or are simply faith movements (*see* Chanda's argument in §2.1).

5.2.2 Kitwe Bread of Life

On the Copperbelt, the BLCI is divided into two administrative areas or districts, namely, Copperbelt South and North. The resident pastors of Kitwe-BLCI and Ndola-BLCI, pastors Mumba and Chanda, are the Provincial Overseers of the two areas respectively. The BLCI Copperbelt North, under pastor Mumba, consists of churches within Kitwe (Chimwemwe and Bulangililo townships) and outside Kitwe (Kalulushi, Kamfinsa, Chambishi, Mufulira, Chingola and Chililabombwe). All the pastors and the churches in these areas fall under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Overseer of the Copperbelt North. Kitwe-BLCI is situated along the road connecting the Kitwe high-income suburbs of Parklands and Nkana East. It is within walking distance from the main commuter station and Kitwe's central business district; thus, it is easily accessible by people from other townships within and outside the city.

BLCI came to Kitwe in 1997 and the first worshippers used to congregate in the city centre before moving to Kitwe Little Theatre in 1998 which is about fifteen minutes' walk from the city centre ('Arthur Nyirenda', interview, 17/6/2013). When the church moved to Kitwe Little Theatre, there were about twenty-eight members and seven years later the growing number of people necessitated the move to its current location about three hundred meters from the theatre. When the study was conducted the adult members of the church was about six hundred and twenty to eight hundred adults and the young population was about hundred and twenty to two hundred per Sunday ('Arthur Nyirenda', interview, 17/6/2013). Kitwe-BLCI adopted campus evangelism, a strategy that specifically targeted the young college students and graduates since Kitwe district itself is home to a countless number of state-owned and private colleges. Some of the participants informed me that the idea behind this strategy was to build a church for the future by evangelising the young who will not only be the backbone of the future church but also be able to support it.

As a result of this evangelism strategy, like most new Pentecostal and charismatic churches in sub-Saharan Africa, BLCI has a relatively young membership. During the time of the study, 'Arthur Nyirenda' (Interview, 17/6/2013) confirmed that the church had a vibrant and lively

branch at the Copperbelt University (a government-run institution), with about a hundred members. The church transported them from the campus every Sunday and they also met at the campus twice a week for prayers and fellowship ('Arthur Nyirenda,' interview, 17/6/2013). This explains why, according to him, church attendance dropped from eight hundred to about six hundred and twenty per Sunday when the college students were on vacation. From my observation, this strategy looked like it was bearing fruits because some of the prominent members of the congregation started attending BLCI during their college years.

Pastorally, Kitwe-BLCI is divided into six zones and each zone is divided into cells or Bible study groups. At Kitwe-BLCI there are six worship ministries (*structure and design*, *usher*, *media*, *Information Technology*, *hospitality* and *praise team*) and four social ministries (*evangelism*, *hospital, prisons* and *counselling*). The former is active every Sunday and the latter are called upon when the need arises. The *structure and design ministry* oversee designing the layout of the sanctuary. The *usher ministry* maintains peace and order and welcomes and guides people during services. The *media ministry* oversees producing CDs and DVDs and the *Information Technology (IT) ministry* helps with the communications department of the church. Kitwe-BLCI has a *hospitality ministry* that takes care of visitors and new members after services by providing them with refreshments while they are being introduced to the life of the church.

In my opinion, the *praise team* is one of the most visible and colourful ministries at Kitwe-BLCI and can match some of Zambia's best gospel choirs. Apart from these ministries, there are fellowships that cater for different groups within the church like the *men of destiny* (for men), *women of integrity* (for women), the *Joshua generation* (for youths) and the *young adults' fellowship* for married or single young adults who are established in life ('Arthur Nyirenda', interview, 17/6/2013). Asamoag-Gyadu (2005:403–404) explains that this structure, common in Pentecostal and charismatic churches, reflects the Pauline ecclesiology that views each member of the believing community as constituting the 'body of Christ' (1 Corinthians 12.12-31):

> "The *charismata* or "gifts of grace", as exercised by an individual or group of believers, constitute their ministry. The different ministries are coordinated within the local church, to make it charismatically functional. Within a single local new Pentecostal church, one may find diverse team ministries, such as praise and worship, healing and deliverance, counselling, welcome, and ushering, video and tape recording, prayer force, youth and children, and publications. These ministries are built around the collective belief in spiritual gifts and the fact that even natural talents are conferred by God and should be employed in his service through Christian ministry.

At the top of the administrative structure is the resident pastor who is the overall overseer and administrator of the church. Working together with the resident pastor is a *board of elders*, who not only advise the pastor on pastoral and administrative matters but also seems to be the powers-that-be in the running of the church. These elders oversee the personnel, finance and other administrative departments of the church. Apart from the administrative roles, the elders perform some pastoral duties as they are also in charge of the zones. Below the board of elders is the *board of deacons* who are substantive heads of different ministries and work together with elders who are attached, on an advisory role, to every ministry. The structure of Kitwe-BLCI reveals a clear distinction between the administrative and pastoral sides of the church. Observations and interviews revealed that the elders oversaw the former while the pastor and his assistants took care of the latter. Pastor Mumba, the resident pastor, informed me that, for the sake of transparency and accountability, he was not in charge of the church's financial matters directly and was not even a signatory to any of the church's bank accounts.

BLCI operates on a hybrid form of church governance that combines the *presbyterian polity* (*see* §4.2.2) and the *episcopal polity* (hierarchical with authority residing in a single leader). Although the administrative powers of the church reside in the board of elders, the key authoritative role resides in the office of Imakando, the presiding and founding bishop. All the guidelines regarding the pastoral and administrative policies of the church come from the 'headquarters', that is, the office of the presiding bishop in Lusaka. This structure of Kitwe-BLCI reveals the ecclesiological shifts that have taken place within Pentecostal and charismatic movements over the years. Some scholars have argued that modern Pentecostal and charismatic churches cannot be mentioned as models of democracy because some of their leaders/founders are life 'owners' of the churches who monopolise everything from authority to church property and assets (Kalu 2008:137,142). Kalu points out that the growth that Pentecostalism has experienced in recent years has necessitated the change of ecclesiology from charismatic-driven ecclesiology to an institutionalised ecclesiological structure.

In Africa from the 1980s to 2000s, Pentecostalism has experimented with different leadership imageries ranging from biblical figures, African traditional and African American images (through the adoption of 'doctor' titles, electronic evangelism, colourful vestments and the like). From the 2000s, Kalu (2008:138) explains that Pentecostal ecclesiology blossomed into full-blown episcopacy. This has enabled Pentecostal, and charismatic churches and leaders to compete with mainline churches and be acknowledged as equal partners:

> This shift or great reversal in ecclesiology from an egalitarian to an episcopal structure has taken place within the three decades under the banner that even God himself is not a democrat. But it only challenges the full implications of the ancient doctrine of priesthood of all believers but appears to be happening at the top while the base leadership remains intensely egalitarian and prominently lay. It is an open question whether the striving for the bishopric has increased the pace

> of evangelization or may centralize authority sufficiently to encourage a holistic mission. (Kalu 2008:138)

One important aspect of the episcopal system is that there is an emphasis on control and uniformity among the various congregations such that there is little (and sometimes no variation) among congregations' regarding worship, doctrine and general practices. This is what 'Charity Lungu' (Interview, 17/6/2013) noticed the first she came to Kitwe-BLCI:

> *Why did you become a member of Bread of Life Church?* When I first came to Bread of Life, I noticed that it has a uniform way of worship in all the churches. The colours, the singing and the things they use in churches are similar. All the churches have annual conferences or three days of power where the bishop goes around once a year. Every Bread of Life church in Zambia is expected to organise three days of power once a year so that members, who are far from the main church in Lusaka, can hear the bishop preaching and be ministered by him.

These conferences that 'Charity Lungu' referred to have deep theological significance for BLCI as a whole because this is where the theology of the church is expounded and emphasised. Chanda also says that the conference phenomenon is one of the most important instruments in the spread of new Pentecostal churches. According to him (Chanda 2013:38), the purpose of these conferences is: '(1) to internationalize the faith movement, (2) to advertise the movement, (3) to recruit new followers, (4) to raise money, (5) to provide an opportunity for people to receive prayers for blessings and deliverance, and (6) to provide a platform for motivating the people'. Conferences provide an opportunity for the local Pentecostal and charismatic churches to cement and forge links with international Pentecostal networks. International 'men (and women) of God' are regular guests at BLCI conferences. Again, conferences serve as platforms to advertise one's ministry like what Chanda (2013:39) says, 'The more famous a preacher gets the better for the image of his ministry'. As a result, there is a belief that the more conferences you hold, the more your ministry grows. Further, it has been noticed that during these conferences the church gains, not only numerically but also financially. The continual emphasis on the link between 'seed-sowing' (tithing and giving) and breakthroughs motivates people to give huge sums of money during these conferences (2013:38–40).

5.2.3 Imakando's Theology

To understand Imakando's theological orientation, one has to bear in mind the influence of international, especially North American, televangelists in the formation and development of new Pentecostal churches in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the leaders of these new churches have been inspired, and some theologically schooled, by these televangelists. Listening to some of Imakando's teachings one gets an impression of the North American (and sometimes West African) Pentecostal influence on his theological thinking and church polity (*see* the

following DVD sermons by Imakando, 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2008d; 2008e; 2008f; 2008g; 2008h). As he (Imakando 2005:128) puts it, his teachings are intended to make people think and act in new ways, to move out of their comfort zones. This new way of life can only take place if a believer stretches his/her faith and lives a lifestyle of seed-sowing. The believer, according to Imakando (2005:128), must always aim higher, expect the unexpected and not be satisfied with the status quo. In his (Imakando 2005:128) words, 'In the entire word of God and also in looking all around us, we see signs of great success achieved by people that worked hard. They paid a price of long hours of work and sacrificing times of pleasure and sleep in order to exert their energies towards achievement of their goal in life'.

In his sermon entitled *You Are A Divine Project*, Imakando (2008a) said that the believer is in the process of being refined by God. Using Philippians 1.6, he argues that, through trial and challenges that one faces in life, the believer is on a journey to perfection and nothing can put a stop to that divine process. According to Imakando (2008a), the time for that process is here and now and all 'mountains' will be levelled to enable the believer to access his/her blessings. Although this process is 'divine', the human being is the 'driver' of the project. This point is underlined in another sermon *The Year of Starting Afresh* where he said that everything has a beginning. This beginning does not take place on its own, it is initiated by something, beginnings are made, he says. If the believer intends to start afresh, he/she needs to 'initiate' the beginning and, in his words (Imakando 2008b), 'we need to do something that God will bless [...]. A house will never be built unless you make a design and dig the foundation'. According to Imakando (2008b), the 'power of beginnings' lies in the believer.

At the centre of this whole process is the faith of the believer that can move God to respond to the needs of the believer. In the first week of December 2014, Kitwe-BLCI hosted a *Faith Explosion Conference* themed 'Total Liberty'. The conference had a guest speaker Haruna Goroh from *Greater Love Ministries* of Namibia. Imakando's preaching was titled 'All Things Are Possible'. Preaching on Mark 9.14–23, Imakando (BLCI 2015b) said, 'In life there are things money cannot buy. But deliverance can only come by faith and prayer. Because with God all things are possible. God will turn your impossible situation to possible [...]. With faith, it's possible for you to get married, a job or healing. Today it's well with you; we serve the God of miracles'. 'With faith all things are possible' seems to be the BLCI theological watchword that, in my view, gives the church its spiritual identity (Imakando 2010:29–32; *see also* Oyedepo 2005:21). Imakando's (2010:30–32) theology is summarised in his book *The Key Ingredients to Success*:

1. 'Faith is the foundation for the fulfilment of every vision, every fulfilment of destiny has been a product of faith'.
2. 'It is your faith that will determine where you will end, what you will possess and your position in life'.
3. 'Faith is the raw material that God uses to perform miracles'.

4. 'Faith will move mountains of sickness, mountains of oppression, mountains of financial lack, mountains of unemployment, etc. In other words, every mountain bow to faith'.

Imakando's (BLCI 2013) *Declarations* reveal how this theology is concretised:

> *I declare* that 2013 is our time. It is our new season. It is our time of opportunities
> *I declare* that in 2013 you will blossom like a flower; you will shoot out like a new plant. The Holy Spirit is hovering over your life to birth a new ministry. To birth a new relationship, to birth a new job, to birth a new business, to birth those new resources to make you a winner in the journey of life. Every seed you sow in 2013 will bring forth fruit of Gods' favour resulting in open doors. You will prosper in body soul and spirit in Jesus' name.
> *I declare* that every closed door that has your name on it will open in 2013.
> *I declare* by mandate of heaven that your life will be significant in 2013. Every obstacle to your progress will be removed now in Jesus' name.
> *I declare* by the mandate of heaven that you shall walk in divine favour, such that you will be noticed, such that you will be singled out for a blessing, such that you will be distinguished in Jesus' name.
> *I declare* by the mandate of heaven that you have entered a new season which will bring forth a conducive environment and an atmosphere full of possibilities in your life. Therefore, every impossibility in your life will become possible in 2013.
> *I declare* that your best days of your life are around the corner.
> By the mandate of heaven, *I declare* that you are blessed and highly favoured.
> *I declare* that you will be blessed in the morning, favoured in the evening.
> Somebody shout Hallelujah!!! (emphasis mine)

These declarations of a new season or new birth in a believer's life are not unique to Imakando but reflect the pan-African prosperity gospel that has reinvented the Christian landscape on the continent. Declarations of this nature are common among the 'big men' of Africa's new Christianity. At the centre of these declarations (or prophecies) is seed-sowing, a process that will open doors of opportunities for the believer and removes all obstacles and challenges to socio-economic progress. Because of this, the Spirit will make the believer 'prosper in body, soul and spirit' by creating a 'conducive environment and atmosphere' for success. Imakando (2008b) likens this process to the biblical Pentecost that gave birth to new life. Through this process, the believer is born again, in the socio-economic sense, as the Spirit comes to 'birth a new relationship, to birth a new job, to birth a new business, to birth those new resources'. According to some Pentecostal and charismatic scholars, such messages do not only help the believer to build dream castles but also motivate the believer to transform these dream castles into reality. These messages also play an important role in encouraging the poor to aspire for upward socio-economic success as Miller and Yamamori (2007:176) puts it:

> Prosperity Gospel preachers provoke people to think in new ways, and while members may be disappointed if they are expecting a quick fix, they may also start organizing their lives in ways that allow for upward social mobility. Furthermore, some of these Prosperity Gospel Preachers actually offer sound advice regarding lifestyle change, budgeting, family planning, and business investment.

It is important to note here that Imakando's brand of prosperity gospel is eerily similar to that of African apostles of prosperity like the late Benson Andrew Idahosa of the *Church of God Mission International* (Nigeria), David Olaniyi Oyedepo of the *Living Faith World Outreach Ministry*, also known as *Winners Chapel* (Nigeria),[30] Matthew Ashimolowo of the *Kingsley International Christian Centre* (Nigeria), Christian 'Pastor Chris' Oyakhilome of the *Believers' Loveworld M*inistries, also known as *Christ Embassy* (Nigeria), Temitope Balogun Joshua 'TB Joshua' of *Synagogue Church of All Nations* (Nigeria), Mensa Otabil of *International Central Gospel Church* (Ghana), Andrew Wutawunashe of the *Family of God* in Zimbabwe and others. According to Ogungbile (2014:140), these apostles of prosperity have not only built mega-churches but 'engage in private empire building for themselves by accumulating assets that boost their personality and justify their prosperity gospel message and mentality'.

The similarity, in structure and theology, between BLCI and other international new Pentecostal movements is a sign of its transnational outlook. According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:402), 'The internationalism of the new Pentecostals has generated accusations that these African Pentecostal movements and their leaders are clones of USA-based televangelists. […]. The global view and international character that the NPCs take of their movement are what led to submissions that Africa's new Pentecostals are North American creations'. However, he (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005:402) argues that the internationalism of new Pentecostals does not rule out the fact that these movements are genuinely African and centred on African needs and experiences.

30 In his book *The Ingredients to Success* (2010), Imakando relies (or borrows) heavily on David Oyedepo's work *Exploits of Faith* (2005). Although Imakando does not mention Oyedepo in his book, there are near verbatim (and uncited) materials from Oyedepo's book, especially on the chapter on faith.

Figure 6: BLCI presiding/founding bishop, Imakando during the Faith Explosion Conference 2014 at Kitwe-BLCI, copyright © 2015 by BLCI Media

Figure 7: Imakando praying for people with various needs during the Faith Explosion Conference 2014 at Kitwe-BLCI, copyright © 2015 by BLCI Media

5.3 Bread of Life Church, Prosperity and Money

The name *Bread of Life* comes from Imakando's (2005:40) three-fold vision: (1) to bring thousands into the kingdom, (2) to possess the land and, (3) to feed them with the 'Bread of Life' (John 6.35). The previous section has highlighted that the theology that Imakando passionately subscribes to interprets wealth and prosperity as genuine marks of faith (*see also* Asamoah-Gyadu 2009). To him, like other rich African prosperity preachers, 'Material accumulation […] is seen as both desirable and indeed the natural heritage of "born again" Christians' (Ogungbile 2014:140). Given this theological orientation, BLCI is widely regarded, by some sections of the Zambian Christian constituency, as a 'money/prosperity' centred church, a tag that is vigorously and passionately denied by Imakando himself and many BLCI followers (Phiri and Maxwell 2007:24). This section examines this controversy in depth.

5.3.1 The Bishop's Lifestyle

The presiding/founding bishop of BLCI, Imakando, has been the subject of debate in Zambia whenever the discussion on new Pentecostal churches arises. He is believed to live affluently and opulently in one of the leafy suburbs of Lusaka and is said to be a frequent visitor to the US and other western countries. The subject of the lifestyle of the bishop unavoidably popped in some of our interviews and it seemed some of the participants were expecting such questions at some point in the discussions. 'Chama Sinkala' (Interview, 22/7/2013), confessed that she had heard many negative stories about the lifestyle of her bishop from her family and friends. According to her ('Chama Sinkala', interview, 22/7/2013), the most important thing was what she was getting from the church. The reason why she joined BLCI was to benefit from the Word and deepen her faith and she was convinced that it was happening in her life:

> *The lifestyle of the bishop is said to be too flamboyant for a man of God, what is your comment?* But for me when I go to church, my first question is: why am I going to church? Am I going there to look at the bishop to say that he has done this or that or am I going there to benefit from the Word? If the church does not give the Word, I leave. Mostly, I ask myself: am I benefiting from the *package* they are giving me in terms of the Word, in terms of prayer? If not, then I leave. ('Chama Sinkala', interview, 22/7/2013)

Another participant, 'Susan Mumbi' (Interview, 15/7/2013), in agreement with 'Chama Sinkala', pointed out that she did not join BLCI to focus at the bishop's lifestyle but to praise God and to have the Word. 'Chanda Kasonde' passionately defended the bishop. According to her ('Chanda Kasonde', interview, 15/7/2013), the bishop's success was a sign of God's blessing and a divine confirmation that he lived an honest life. During our interview, she highlighted the bishop's humble background and achievements and pointed out that the way BLCI has prospered was a confirmation that the bishop was walking in the path of righteousness. In the eyes of some of BLC members, the success of their church and their bishop was a proof that his ways were not corrupt and that he had not risen in the socio-economic ladder through corrupt activities. According to the participants, Imakando's success fulfilled the scriptures that say 'you will know them by their fruits' (Matthew 7.20). According to 'Chanda Kasonde' (Interview, 15/7/2013), unlike BLCI, corrupt churches fail:

> *People generally believe that Bread of Life, especially your bishop, is corrupt. What is your comment on that?* […]. Come godly-walk, I will still stand with my head high and say he is the best bishop I have ever seen. [...]. If the bishop's ways were not correct, I do not think God would have allowed him to excel to the height where he is today. I do not think God would have allowed him, or even our Bread of Life to excel and be visible everywhere else. But when my ways are straight, I do not have to worry because God will always be there to make sure that I prosper in everything that I do. […]. The Bible says they shall be seen by their fruits, so when you are doing the right thing for God, the fruits will tell. And what are the fruits of bishop Imakando? We have visible and good branches everywhere. Which other Pentecostal church is visible that way? [...]. Go to Chingola you see us, go to Chililabombwe, go to Kalulushi, go to Chimwemwe, those are the fruits of his labour, meaning his dealings are correct. If it was not, we would not be able to see them. Some churches that probably started together with our church never went anywhere.

Another view that seemed to influence the participants' perception regarding their bishop's lifestyle was their idea of God. God is neither silent nor unconcerned with, or hidden from, creation. There is no room for an 'idle god' in Pentecostal and charismatic spirituality but an active God fits well with Pentecostal cosmology. God is neither blind nor asleep but can break into a believer's life, unexpectedly, and takes care of a difficult or impossible situation. Pentecostals strongly believe that, through the Spirit, God is alive and active in the church

and the world. This God, who is present here and now, would not allow evil and immorality to prevail and, thus, BLCI and its presiding/founding bishop, according to 'Charity Lungu' (Interview, 17/7/2013) could not be corrupt and worship a living God at the same time:

> [...]. Whenever your dealings are not straight in any other category, people should not be cheated, even just as an individual [...] for as long as your dealings are not straight and transparent, God will not sleep and let you prosper, will never sleep and let you succeed [...]. So, will God be pleased when you are doing the wrong things? He will not just be pleased but will allow evil to manifest at a certain point in time so that you do the right thing. […]. Do you think God does not see all these things? It is not my problem to guard the tithe that I give. If somebody decides to be a thief to steal my tithe, it is not my problem because I am not giving to that person; I am not giving to the pastor. I am giving to the church. Therefore, if somebody decides to be a thief, it is not my problem […]. However, one thing I tell myself is to leave all to God because God is not blind, and he will punish them in his own time.

What should be borne in mind is that most of the new Pentecostal churches are pastor centred. The life of most of the new Pentecostal churches is centred and revolves solely around the personality of the pastor, in other words, they are pastor-driven churches. They not only listen to the pastor but also regard the pastor as a living example of God's benevolence. In my exploratory interactions with some born-again Christians in Kitwe, I discovered that most of them mentioned the pastor as one of the reasons why they migrated from mainline to 'Spirit-filled' churches. Some of the people mentioned the way the Spirit was working and manifesting through the pastor, 'he/she is full of the Holy Spirit' or is a 'man/woman of God', were common expressions. The pastor in a Pentecostal and charismatic church is the instrument of the Spirit, the avenue of God's revelations and a transmitter of divine revelation here and now. Divine blessings are mediated by the pastor and received directly by the believer. The 'man (or woman) of God' lives with God, sees God and communicates with God regularly. In many Pentecostal churches, the pastor's vision and beliefs are the main pillars around which the whole church life revolves (*see* Van Dijk 1999:79; Meyer 2005:283; Maxwell 2006:9; *see also* §2.4.1 and §4.4). This is what separates the new Pentecostal 'men (and women) of God' from pastors in other churches, the former is expected to demonstrate and reflect God's miracles in their lives.

However, some pastors of the new churches have found themselves joining the 'who's-who' list of society. While this cannot be said about all the pastors, some of them have been outstanding (and at the same time controversial) when it comes to upward financial and socio-economic (and even political) mobility. There are many rags-to-riches stories among new Pentecostal pastors that have drawn critical attention but somehow seems to legitimate their prosperity orientation. Some of the study participants believed that there should be a change of lifestyle, upward mobility of some kind, that corresponds to the changes in one's socio-economic status or level and this does not exclude pastors. God's blessings (*mapaalo*, in

Bemba), according to the participants, bring about changes in one's lifestyle and there is nothing scandalous about flaunting one's acquisitions if they have not been acquired immorally or illegally. Therefore, according to the participants, Imakando's lifestyle corresponds to the lifestyle of many bishops and church leaders. 'Chanda Kasonde' (Interview, 15/7/2013) argues this point:

> Everyone has a lifestyle. When you say his lifestyle, in which area? When it comes to lifestyles, some lifestyles go according to your level in society. When you look at our pastor, our reverend, they have a certain lifestyle that is common at their level. Even him [Imakando] he has a certain lifestyle which is common at the bishop level. Even if you try to hide it, at a certain point it must be visible. At any level that you are, you adopt a lifestyle that you wish. He never stole to be where he is, he waited for the right time to be there.

Like any other prosperity-oriented church, BLCI's vision is built on and influenced by the belief that God rewards faithfulness with blessings, prosperity and abundance. These blessings are not only regarded as social but personal since they are rewards for one's relationship with God through Jesus Christ. This is reflected in the common expression among Pentecostal and charismatic Christians that 'salvation is personal', and so are the blessings. These blessings are interpreted as signs of spiritual victory over the devil and dark forces. Most of the participants interpreted wealth and prosperity in the framework of this cosmological understanding. It is, however, difficult to tell the extent to which this cosmology explains the acquisition of wealth among Pentecostal and charismatic Christians.

5.3.2 Is It All About Money?

The controversies generated by Imakando's lifestyle, indirectly, influenced the trajectory of my interviews with the participants. During the interviews, I could detect the presence of ambivalent views among the participants toward the 'money/prosperity' label the church has attracted in Zambia. Some accepted the label and justified it as necessary if the church was to grow and realise its vision of bringing all to the kingdom. Kitwe-BLCI has attracted members from all socio-economic backgrounds. To most of these people, working through and overcoming the harsh economic conditions on the Copperbelt is their number one priority and an institution that promises to transform their dreams into reality is a welcome ally in this socio-economic warfare.

Others denied the 'money/prosperity' tag altogether and dismissed it as coming from other churches that felt challenged by the growth and popularity of BLCI. The participants I spoke to were unapologetic and unequivocal in defending the church's practices and teachings. This attitude was audible in the responses of most BLCI members who participated in this study. Some of them believed the gospel of giving and blessings was necessary and intrinsically

connected to faith. 'Ruth Mwale' (Interview, 19/8/2013) insisted that both her local pastor (pastor Mumba) and bishop Imakando rarely preached about money and when it was done it was usually at the end of the service and for a special reason:

> *People criticise Bread of Life for preaching or talking too much about money. People say that it is all about money in Bread of Life. What is your comment on that?* […]. When we started building the church, he would preach after service about money for the building. But some people think that we just talk about money and things like that […]. The bishop is more of a teacher. His teachings have more to do with prosperity, salvation, and everything. I think he touches all areas of life. I think they are balanced like I said, they touch all areas of life because when you come to church you do not only hear about prosperity, prosperity; his teachings are balanced.

During the time I was attending Kitwe-BLCI services, I noticed that extra teaching or exposition on tithing and giving would be given apart from the main teaching or sermon of the day. Sometimes this was given by a visitor from another BLCI or by a guest from a Pentecostal and charismatic church in Kitwe. The argument here was that BLCI is a church that began from 'scratch' and without any 'international links' like mainline and classical Pentecostal churches. Therefore, one could not avoid the emphasis on money in the church:

> Money is just a medium of exchange today, not necessarily that the church is about money. We are different from the traditional churches; they are already established. They already have church buildings in every district in Zambia and this is what we are trying to do now. As we are talking right now, Bread of Life is in every city. But had it not been for us giving money to the church to build, how would we have managed to build churches in all the districts? [...]. So, if we do not come in as members of the church, without the heart of loving our church, to build a building that would benefit our children and our children's children, where is the church going to get the money from? So, this is one thing that people do not just understand. Yes, in the end it is about money. ('Susan Mumbi', interview, 15/7/2013)

The same view was expressed by 'Joseph Mupeta', 'Beauty Banda' and 'Herbert Mbewe'. I met 'Joseph Mupeta' in 2013 at Kitwe-BLCI when he came to attend one of the mid-week services. Like all the participants, 'Joseph Mupeta' joined BLC from one of the mainline churches. 'Beauty Banda' was a participant whom I met on Monday evening at Kitwe-BLCI. She was a college graduate and an employee of one of Kitwe's mining companies and had been a member of Kitwe-BLCI for over five years after leaving one of the evangelical churches in Kitwe. 'Herbert Mbewe' was introduced to me by one of my BLCI contacts. He was one of the numerous contractors with the mines on the Copperbelt who survived by being awarded small contract jobs by the mines. In this way, he was able to provide for his family, live a decent life and, at the same time, employ other jobless youths.

According to 'Joseph Mupeta' (Interview, 15/7/2013):

> The other churches like the [Roman] Catholic and UCZ [United Church of Zambia] do not need this teaching on giving and tithing because they have everything, buildings, and other resources. But our church is different. How can you grow as a church if you do not give and tithe?

'Beauty Banda' (Interview, 28/8/2013) agrees with this point:

> People do not understand. It is not that Pentecostal churches preach about money. The truth of the matter is that there are things that must be done. It is not like we want money. The money they get is meant to build the church and to help people in the church.

In our discussion 'Herbert Mbewe' (Interview, 22/7/2013) pointed out that, it was unfortunate that I attended Kitwe-BLCI services when they were trying to raise money to build their Blessing Centre. However, this did not mean that BLCI was only focused on money:

> It is just a misconception of people and trying to run away from their responsibility as Christians. People accuse us of speaking too much about money because, today, when we stand among Pentecostals, we are loud and outspoken. We are more visible now and reachable in every district where we go. Why? This is because there is money that is being put by the members to build all these churches in all the districts. But, believe you me, in the next five years, we would have built all our churches and that money thing will not be so outspoken. ('Herbert Mbewe', interview, 22/7/2013)

To some participants, however, tithing and giving were intrinsically connected and correlated with one's faith. A believer's depth of giving reflects his/her depth of faith. To 'Chama Sinkala' (Interview, 22/7/2013), BLCI had deepened her faith so much she had come to understand the necessity of giving:

> I am deep in faith and I think it was good that we built the church. However, for a new member who does not understand the principle of giving, of sowing, of sacrificial giving, you think that they are asking you to give out a salary. As for me, I am deep in faith and I have no issues with that.

Understanding the theological orientation of Pentecostal and charismatic churches is important for one to understand the importance of money and in the mission of a church like BLCI. Success is like the lens through which salvation and grace are viewed. Salvation and holiness are both reflected in living a successful life (*see* the discussion in §6.1.2). The language of some of Kitwe-BLCI participants was business-like: going to church is like an

investment where you would expect to get something after investing your resources. What is important is not how much others are getting in terms of dividends but whether one is getting more than one has invested. Therefore, success must be visible and celebrated and the profit enjoyed. Another participant, 'Musonda' (Interview, 2/9/2013), who was working in a development-related job, told me that she was comfortable with BLCI because, sometimes, development-related matters were addressed from a biblical point of view. Just like most new Pentecostals and charismatics, the church was more than a spiritual home but a place where their desires for upward socio-economic mobility were respected and accommodated.

To illustrate how BLCI teachings and practices are centred on the believers' experiences, one participant, 'Allan Sichone' (Interview, 15/7/2013), a regular and passionate member of the church, informed me that the church (meaning Kitwe-BLCI) introduced *build your house* programme to encourage members to acquire land and build their own houses. This idea was muted when the church discovered that most of the members were spending a lot of money on house rentals. 'Allan Sichone' (Interview, 15/7/2013) claimed that a few years after the commencement of this programme most of the church members had houses of their own or were in the process of doing so. This had a positive effect on both the members' economic lives and, consequently, the church's economy through the increase in the level of tithing and giving. Another programme *go back to school* was aimed at encouraging members to take education seriously and enrol in high school, tertiary and commercial courses. Just like the housing programme, the education programme resulted, as 'Allan Sichone' (Interview, 15/7/2013) claimed, in the improvement of the lives of the church members and this, in turn, increased the numbers of 'tithers' and 'givers' in the church. This, according to 'Allan Sichone' (Interview, 15/7/2013), was a clear testimony that 'Bread of Life does not emphasise one aspect of the gospel but mould the individual both spiritually and in other areas of life. As a result, lives have been saved and changed since joining Bread of Life'.

Two aspects could be highlighted from the previous discussion. The first is that Pentecostal and charismatic concept of giving can best be understood in the context of the new Pentecostal ecclesiology. Like Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:403) points out, 'The ecclesiology of the new churches follows the New Testament principle particularly evident in Pauline thought that participating in Christ is like functioning as a member of the human body'. Pentecostals, therefore, believe that the individuals own the church and that each member is responsible for the general wellbeing of the church. The other aspect is that Pentecostal and charismatic commitment to giving functions like an instrument for measuring and indicating one's level of faith. To a Pentecostal, giving, is sacrificial and a call that a true believer should not ignore. The exit point of giving is not necessarily the believer's economic benefit but the spiritual dynamism that comes from sacrificial giving.

Figure 8: Imakando praying for the sick during the Faith Explosion Conference 2014 at Kitwe-BLCI, copyright © 2015 by BLCI Media

Figure 9: Imakando praying for women 'for the fruit of the womb' during the Faith Explosion Conference 2014 at Kitwe-BLCI, copyright © 2015 by BLCI Media

5.4 Corruption Discourse at Kitwe Bread of Life

The preceding paragraphs discussed the vision of BLCI and the possible relationship between this vision and the prosperity gospel. Is the spirituality of BLCI simply a reflection of the capitalist, raw North American (or West African) Pentecostal and evangelical theology that is aimed at the accumulation of wealth? Some people in Zambia view the Pentecostal flaunting of wealth and opulence as unChristlike. However, some members of BLCI, like other prosperity-oriented Pentecostals and charismatics, did not seem to recognise any contradiction between the immoderate and intemperate accumulation of wealth and the gospel of Jesus Christ. As mentioned in the previous section, prosperity and success were indicators of one's faith. From the interviews, one could easily get the impression that the days of a 'holiness' Christianity are numbered.

5.4.1 Transparency and Discourse on Corruption

How transparent was Kitwe-BLCI regarding financial matters? When I raised this question in the discussions with the participants, the participants unanimously stressed that the resident pastor did not handle money and did not deal with financial issues. Even the pastor himself defined transparency in terms of the pastor-finance relationship. I was informed that the resident pastor did not have much control and power away from the pulpit as indicated in §5.2.2. Again, the financial position of the church was regularly announced and published to church members especially when there was a special project being undertaken:

> Here they announce the financial position of the church. But they normally do it when there are special offerings. So, for example, when the church was built, you know we did not have proper chairs, we had plastic chairs. So, they would tell you the total amount they would have collected from the people and the total amount they would have spent on buying chairs. ('Musonda Chali', interview, 28/8/2013)

Most of the Pentecostal and charismatic churches in sub-Saharan Africa have adopted the management philosophy mostly associated with business enterprises. There are strict financial controls, transparency and audited financial results at the end of each year. Kitwe-BLCI have an open annual general meeting at the end of each year where the audited finances of the church are revealed to the members who are then allowed to seek clarification if necessary. These audited financial statements are then sent to the accounting department at the 'headquarters' in Lusaka. One of the participants, 'Joseph Daka' (Interview, 15/7/2013) explained:

> At every stage, we are informed about how we are moving, where we are. Every year we have an AGM (annual general meeting) where they will bring in external auditors who will audit all that came in and out and a report will be given. Everybody is invited to the AGM; they will give you copies of what happened. If you have any queries or any concerns, you can bring them in. The finance people will be there and other people who manage the affairs of the church will be there. The AGM is held at the year-end. When it is year-end all branches have all that (AGM) because there is strict transparency. So, every branch must send their reports to the headquarters and there are people there who are also interested in knowing what is happening […]. There is serious transparency.

From my observations and analysis, these financial policies are judiciously and religiously followed in BLCI as a whole and some participants, especially those coming from the business environment, believe that this professionalism explains the success and growth of BLCI in Zambia and abroad. Each church is run like a business entity and the members seem to consider themselves as shareholders. Although several participants at Kitwe-BLCI pointed to the annual general meeting as a sign of transparency and openness within the church, I was surprised that all the participants confessed that they had never attended a single annual general meeting since they started worshipping at Kitwe-BLCI. What this means is that the participants were probably not interested in the administrative aspect of the church or how the church's temporal goods were handled. What was important was the spiritual life or dimension of the community and the rest was secondary (*see* interviews with 'Chanda Kasonde' and 'Charity Lungu' in §5.3.2).

As explained earlier (*see* §5.3.1), Pentecostals have a feeling, not only of ownership but also of individual responsibility for the whole church. Currently, the Zambian economy is experiencing severe stress with rising unemployment, poverty levels, and massive external debts. Under this environment, BLCI stands out as an example of an economically viable and

sustainable institution. The strict financial discipline and sound management system have made BLCI one of the few economically successful institutions in Zambia. Its entrepreneurial spirit is grounded on the fact that, like most new Pentecostal churches in sub-Saharan Africa, it is a financially autonomous church operating in a highly competitive capitalist environment.

Now, what do the members understand by corruption? As I have noted in the second chapter, most of the participants were believers who had migrated from mainline churches to join BLCI (§4.4.2). The participants highlighted 'corruption' among Christians in these churches as the main reason for their conversion or migration to Pentecostalism. The Pentecostal emphasis on purity and moral transformation is what distinguishes them from other believers. As one Pentecostal and charismatic scholar (Asamogh-Gyadu 2005:406) rightly says, 'The constitutive act of the Pentecostal movement is the offer of a direct and particularly intense encounter with God that introduces profound changes in the life and circumstances of the person who experiences it'. The study participants had stories to tell about how being born-again transformed their lives from either the life of drunkenness or sexual immorality to be a 'child of God'. As I have already mentioned in the first chapter, the Pentecostal emphasis on 'breaking with the past' signifies the transition from a 'sinful' past to 'a renewed relationship with God, intimacy with the transcendental empowerment by the Holy Spirit' (Kalu 2003:88; *see* the discussion on §6.3.3). Thus, to a Pentecostal, being born-again signifies repentance from a life of corruption to a life of Christ. As 'David Katongo' (Interview, 15/7/2013) said:

> Let me talk about repentance and being born-again, it is so outspoken in Pentecostal churches. It is something that sits in the background. When you join a Pentecostal church, when you became born-again, it is more outspoken as compared to non-Pentecostal churches. Then I used to be a devoted Catholic. But when I left the Catholic Church and joined the Pentecostal church, I felt this huge change in my life.

The centrality of this issue in a Pentecostal life should not be overlooked or underestimated because, to a *Pente*, it 'sits in the background' and gives the believer a unique identity. Not only does being born-again enable the believer to deal with morality on a personal level, but it also enables him/her to deal with corruption on a societal or community level. As 'Beauty Banda' (Interview, 28/8/2013) said, '[…] when it comes to issues of corruption, for example, you need to impact people on corrupt practices that are happening in the world. It is easy and loud from a Pentecostal point of view because I am taught to carry the Word in public'. According to her ('Beauty Banda', interview, 28/8/2013), being born-again means embracing the miraculous presence of God in one's life and this enables one to proclaim God's holiness and grace. Overcoming immoral practices can only be achieved when a believer accepts God's power in one's life and this is difficult for believers from mainline churches because 'they do not embrace miracles' ('Charity Lungu', interview, 17/6/2013).

At Kitwe-BLCI, the sermons were a series of teachings on a variety of topics that ranged from simple faith issues, business/work-related topics to personal and social relationships. These series were explored from a biblical point of view and each topic was explored for several weeks until it was 'exhausted'. During the study, I did not hear the problem of 'corruption' being discussed on any level of church life, cell or congregational and the pastor himself and the participants admitted that such a topic had never been addressed in sermons. To most of the participants, morality referred to personal or private matters that have a direct impact on one's life and faith. My argument here is that this personalisation or domestication of morality among new Pentecostal Christians is something that complicates the discourse on corruption. The transformation that takes place when one is born-again is a change of private or personal morals and this, to a Pentecostal and charismatic, is an experience that has the potential of transforming the society. The participants at Kitwe-BLCI (including Kwacha-PAOG), unwaveringly argued that the transformation of private or personal morals that accompanies the born-again experience is the most effective anti-corruption tool. This explains why the teaching life of the church was centred solely on being righteous and holy. This question shall be dealt with fully in §6.2.1.

5.5 Summary and Reflection

The second section in this chapter (§5.2) gave a lot of space to the background of the case site, Kitwe-BLCI. The purpose of this extensive background study was to place Kitwe-BLCI in a specific context to understand how that context influenced its life and the dynamics of its growth. The section highlighted the fact that BLCI is a church that is heavily influenced, in structure and theology, by North American and West African mega-Pentecostal and charismatic churches. The life of BLCI is anchored on a prosperity-and-faith theology that has seen the church grow to unprecedently high levels in recent years. Thus, the message of Imakando, which, undeniably, is an extreme or hard version of the prosperity gospel', is that faith is an indicator of God's favour (§5.2.3). His perceived affluent lifestyle and the spacious edifices the church is planting in and around Zambia have drawn critical attention from the public.

Considering this criticism, the participants made four arguments. The first was that the 'success' the church enjoyed is a measure of divine blessings because God rewards faith and hard work and not corruption and evil (§5.3.1). The point was that if there was corruption in the church and the lives of the believers (including Imakando), God would not have blessed them with 'success'. The second argument was the denial that the practices and teachings of the church are all about money and prosperity. The participants argued that money was just the means to realise the church's vision of bringing all to God's kingdom (§5.3.1). The third argument was the participants' testimonies that attending BLCI benefited them, individually, in terms of growth in faith and positive changes in socio-economic values. The fourth argument was that the corruption-talk must be done in the context of repentance and being

born-again. This experience, says one participant, 'sits in the background' of the life of every Pentecostal. According to the participants, talking specifically about corruption was not necessary because being Pentecostal is declaring 'zero tolerance' on living a corrupt life, in all forms and types.

In light of these findings, it is important to begin by stressing that BLCI is arguably the biggest Zambian-initiated/instituted Pentecostal church. Coupled with its massive demographic growth, affluent and grandiose structures and theological emphasis, the church has become one of the most attractive (and controversial) churches among the young urbanites in Zambia. The 'success' of BLCI should be understood in the context of the socio-economic situation in Zambia in the 1990s. During this time, the country was emerging from three decades of Kaunda's economic difficulties. The message of the new church, 'the hour of blessing has arrived', seemed to have been embraced as the much-needed refreshment by the success-starved populace. As a result, the church was like a newly planted flower in summer that was blossoming and its nectar and pollen attracting thousands of ambitious honeybees. The same message is still relevant today as the post-Kaunda era did not result in substantial changes in the people's socio-economic lives as the levels of poverty and unemployment (and corruption) have remained on the high side. The theology of BLCI, according to the participants, attempts to address some of these issues. Despite some misgivings about the flamboyant, materialistic and extravagant structures and lifestyle of its presiding bishop, BLCI seems to be putting an indelible mark on the face and character of Zambian Christianity.

The focus of the study was Kitwe-BLCI. This church stands shoulders above most of the Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Kitwe district. It boasts of a newly built state-of-the-art 'blessing centre' and a young-and-ever-growing dynamic congregation. The times I have visited this church, I was impressed by its worship style and the way the church was governed. Although BLCI is an ecclesiastically governed church, on a local level it is congregationally led and administered. The interviews reported in this chapter have one underlying thread that may help us understand Pentecostal and charismatic conception of corruption, namely, corruption exists among those who are not deep in faith and the Word. Those who are genuinely born-again, through repentance that is outspoken in Pentecostal life, undergo substantial moral transformation. Here it is important to note that the participants regarded salvation as a 'package', as holistic, that comprises of spiritual, moral and material transformation. The participants emphasised that the desire for this 'package' is what brought them to BLCI. Although BLCI is publicly regarded as a 'money/prosperity'-oriented church, the desire for material success does not seem to be the dominant factor in attracting members to this church. To the participants, moral uprightness, in addition to financial giving, is a key to divine blessings. God rewards loyalty, faithfulness and righteousness. The participants believed that personal transformation, triggered by the born-again experience, is what the society needs to focus on in the fight against corruption.

6. Concluding Reflections

> If a Christian truly lets himself be washed by Christ, if he truly lets himself be stripped by Him of the old man to walk in a new life, although remaining a sinner, — because we are all so — he can no longer be corrupt, Jesus' justification saves us from corruption. (Pope Francis 2018)

After doing this research for over five years, I now understand why some researchers say that doing academic research is a messy and complicated business; not everything goes according to plan (Newby 2014:5–30; Veling 2005:215). When studying mental health issues in Britain, Mary Leamy's (2005:121) experience was that 'the initial packing list for the journey kept expanding, and that the more we thought about the implications of each item, the more complicated the whole endeavour became'. Canadian social scientist Katharine McGowan and colleagues (2004:2) described the research journey as 'an iterative process, unique in each journey's individual trajectories'. In her reflection on the research, the Finnish historian Leila Koivunen (2009:xv) 'was unsure where to begin, what to look for, what I would encounter and where to end'.

Looking back at my own experience in this study, I am compelled to say that, borrowing the words of Suzanne McCotter (2001), 'I do not make the arrogant assumption that I have travelled a path unknown to others, but I do know that I have never been down it before and it has changed me'. Understanding the connection between Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity and the problem of corruption involves investigating the labyrinth of relationships that involves tangled and intertwining threads. The objective of this research was just to untangle a single thread, that is, the effect of Pentecostal and charismatic spirituality on the believer's perception of corruption. Given the obvious limitations of the sample size, I may not have disentangled the convoluted threads completely and successfully, but I have managed, hopefully, to draw attention to the possible discursive dimension of this complex relationship. I hope that this study shall motivate further exploration of the field.

The first chapter introduced the reader to what the study was all about, specifically the theological and theoretical frameworks. The chapter emphasised that, though it is a socio-and politico-economic problem, corruption is not peripheral to theological activities. As a descriptive, hermeneutical, critical and pragmatic discipline, practical theology is well equipped to study the problem of corruption and help the believers respond pastorally to this problem. The second chapter took the reader through a detailed methodological reflection. There is one aspect that should be stressed here, namely, Pentecostal and charismatic study demands flexibility, spontaneity and an uncritical and open mentality. Chapter three explored

the theoretical dimensions of the two phenomena: the problem of corruption and Pentecostalism, and argued that, despite being motivated by economic interests and wellbeing, corrupt activities and practices are also relationship centred. I also attempted to apply this framework to Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity by examining the relationship between prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism and the believers' economic behaviour.

The research was a case study carried out in Kitwe, a city in the heart of the Zambian Copperbelt province. Since the 1920s, the mining industry has been the second largest employer in the province (*see* §1.1.1). In the past two decades, the global economic crisis and the catastrophic economic mismanagement in Zambia have destabilised the copper industry resulting in massive job losses and retrenchments. The economic challenges spilling from the ailing mining industry seems to have made corruption a legitimate part of facilitating business transactions. For instance, in Zambia today, to get a tender (an offer to do work or supply goods at a fixed price) in the public and private sectors, the queue of bribees would stretch from the security personnel operating the main gate of the company to the top echelons of management. To most people, this form of corruption is now socially acceptable since it is seen as an easier and less stressful way of conducting business activities and transactions. In this environment, the prosperity gospel preached by some Pentecostal and charismatic churches today has made Pentecostalism not only a spiritual sanctuary but also an alternative economic institution that promises 'health and wealth' in a country facing massive economic challenges.

The first study site, Kwacha-PAOG, was a small, but vibrant township church that belonged to one of the most influential classical Pentecostal churches in Zambia. As a semi-autonomous congregation, the vision, spirituality and life of the pastor gave direction to the church and moulded the faith of the members (§4.2.2). The second study site, Kitwe-BLCI, was a 'mega-congregation' that belongs to one of the most visible and flamboyant Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia. The teachings, sermons and activities of Kitwe-BLCI were centred on the vision of the church's presiding bishop. 'Blessings/favour' and 'new beginnings' were the themes that featured a lot, in various forms and nuances, in the teaching life of both churches but were more pronounced in Kitwe-BLCI. This probably explains why BLCI is increasingly becoming popular among the young urbanites in Zambia: the church's teachings seem to address real-life issues affecting the daily lives of the congregants. Although there is no agreement on BLCI's theological persuasion, the participants acknowledged (while denying the 'money-church' label), unapologetically, that success and prosperity were the dominant themes in BLCI discourses. The participants justified this trend by pointing out that, unlike mainline churches and classical Pentecostal churches, BLCI is a growing church that needs many resources to build or curve its name in Zambian Christian constituency.

After this brief introduction, the next section (§6.1) summarises the research findings, highlighting key critical issues that dominated the ethnographic conversations. The summary of case findings is followed by a discussion of some aspects of Pentecostal spirituality, as

revealed in the case study. These aspects could be entry-points for reforming the cultures that instrumentalise and legitimatise corruption (§6.2). Section §6.3 highlight some deficiencies and inadequacies in the spiritualities of the two churches and suggest ways of deepening their teachings and practices to help them provide a transformative pastoral response to the problem of corruption.

6.1 Summary of Case Findings

Three themes were outstanding in the ethnographic conversations and fieldwork on Kitwe-BLCI and Kwacha-PAOG. The first is the question of transparency and accountability regarding the churches' financial matters (§6.1.1). Another theme worth noting is the prosperity-oriented spirituality prominent in BLCI (§6.1.2) and the third is the apparent absence of corruption discourse in the teaching ministry of the two churches (§6.1.3).

1.1.1 Transparency and Accountability

The first theme that should be highlighted from the case study is the question of financial transparency and accountability. Today, transparency and openness are the characteristic features of Pentecostal and charismatic worship and life in general. This is reflected in two spheres or dimensions of church life: the ethical and economic. The former demands public confession of sins and moral failures for the work of the Spirit to manifest in the life of the believer (this aspect shall fully be discussed in §6.3.3). The latter is marked by the publication of the church's financial status and the celebration and glorification of the church's (and the individual's) economic successes. As discussed in §3.4, the economic dimension of Pentecostalism has made the movement the most dynamic Christian trend today. The apparent close relationship between the neo-liberal-capitalist ethos and modern Pentecostal spirituality has seen Pentecostals adopting business principles associated with profit-making entities. Considering this development, the study found out that the churches followed the principles of good business.

In chapters four and five, we saw how the participants emphasised that the chances of misappropriating or embezzling funds in their churches are next to nothing. At the first study site, Kwacha-PAOG, I witnessed weekly, on Sundays, announcements of the church's income and expenditure statements. At the second study site, I was informed that Kitwe-BLCI publishes, through the annual general meetings, the audited financial statements. To ensure transparency and accountability in church management, the resident pastors of both churches did not have direct access to church funds. Although they were the general overseers of all aspects of church life, the 'economic wheels' of the churches were handled by carefully selected elders of the church who made up the church management teams. The latter were either educated professionals in their respective fields or simply respected and experienced

church members whose views on important church decisions were valued and taken seriously. Although there was a common public opinion that these churches were corrupt (especially BLCI), evidence to the contrary suggests that there was financial transparency and accountability in the administration of these churches. It is my view that when studying institutional corruption within new Pentecostal and charismatic churches, the focus should not only be on the legal and economic framework. If corruption was defined simply as 'the abuse or misuse of public power or office for private gain or benefit' (see §3.2.1), applying this to new Pentecostal and charismatic churches would not yield any result.

6.1.2 Prosperity-Oriented Spirituality

The other theme noteworthy is the prosperity-focused spirituality that has been the focal point of both admiration and criticism in Zambian Christianity. The churches under study had, in my view, two different versions of the prosperity gospel. At Kwacha-PAOG, pastor Banda's message was about transformation or restoration. This theme, which he introduced in different forms, was centred on theology in which evil has no place in God's plan. The presence of evil is attributed to the devil who 'reversed' what God had originally intended for God's people. God's plan is to restore the 'original blessings' and transform the lives of the believers. According to pastor Banda, what is needed for one to experience transformation, in all its dimensions, is not necessarily to 'give something' to God (in the form of tithing and sacrificial giving) but to 'be someone' for God, that is, to be a faithful and genuine believer. For this transformation to be realised in a believer's life, one must be born again and live a life of the Spirit. Corruption characterises those who live in the 'world' and not those who live 'in the Spirit'. The latter does not need to induce or accept bribes since God provides for those who believe in God. In my opinion, the Kwacha-PAOG version could be characterised as a mild-form of the 'prosperity gospel'.

Kitwe-BLCI participants believed in the active presence of God in the believer's life. God is actively involved in the affairs of the individual, in the church and society. The divine activity is not limited to the spiritual realm, but all aspects and spheres of life like business, work, leisure, and family. Unlike the Kwacha-PAOG understanding of God in which the believer is a passive recipient of God's blessings, the spirituality of BLCI places the believer at the centre of the whole process. According to this spirituality, God intends to bring the believer into the kingdom of blessings, and this could only be done with the believer's active participation in the form of 'seed-sowing'. This spirituality is based on a God who responds, accordingly and proportionately, to the believer's faith and giving. Some Pentecostal and charismatic scholars have interpreted this kind of message, and its variants, as a philosophy that is meant to enable the believer to survive and withstand the impact of the market economy (Meeks 1989:171; Martin 2002:18,78–80; Athyal 2007:224; Jong 2010:294, 307; Rhee 2012:209; Clifton 2014:264–6).

When examining this spirituality, certain aspects should be taken into consideration before subjecting it to scrutiny. The first aspect is that focus and concern for money in churches like BLCI should be understood from the context of twenty-first century ministry. Resource availability and capability is one of the reasons behind the Pentecostal and charismatic exponential growth in the Global South. An uninformed outsider perspective is bound to misinterpret the growth of Pentecostal and charismatic churches, their missionary methods, social media visibility, pastors' lifestyles, and expensive infrastructure as mere money-making schemes. Pentecostals and charismatics believe that money and resources amplify their capacity to witness. While mainline churches largely depend on overseas partners or links, new Pentecostal churches have instead mastered and perfected aggressive, creative, and pace-setting fund-raising and evangelism strategies that have become the envy of other churches.

The second aspect is that Pentecostal vision today is centred on victory and success. BLCI teaching ministry, in my opinion, is not simply about prosperity (though it is a dominant theme) but about salvation that is realised through prosperity. Prosperity is not a fulfilment of salvation but simply evidence of the beginnings of salvation. It seems salvation is not seen as an end-of-time reality but as a reality that begins and can be experienced here and now but is fulfilled at the end-of-time. Money and wealth play a big role in the Pentecostal and charismatic understanding of the economy of salvation. Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:354–5) explains:

> Pentecostals draw attention to the fact that the gospel is about restoration, so it is expected that the transformation of the personality would be manifest in personal wealth, well-being and care, in short salvation is holistic and includes spiritual as well as physical abundance [...]. Some may view this as an obsession with this-worldly concerns but this could hardly be otherwise in a precarious context in which, besides the divine, people may virtually have no other means of survival.

The third aspect is that conversions to Pentecostal faith are not economically motivated. Pentecostal conversion is goal-oriented and not seen as a means to an end. According to some scholars, no one is converted to Pentecostalism, or for that matter to any other religion, for survival purposes or economic reasons only.[31] Nevertheless, when prosperity comes their way, the believers are happy to attribute this to God's benevolence (Mariz 1998). According to David Smilde (2007:139–46), Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity gives the believer comprehensive set narratives or metaphors through which the confusion or crisis in life could be meaningfully interpreted. Thus, the purpose of Pentecost conversion is a moral commitment that is an attempt to reconstruct one's life in relation to God. As De Sousa puts

31 However, other studies point out that a significant number of conversions to new Pentecostalism are motivated by material interests (*see* Freston 1994:335–58; Stroll 1994:99–123; Ortiz 2007:318–20).

it (2012:216), 'for all its emphases on money and material success Pentecostalism is not a religion of money, or 'money fetishism,' a religion that says that money is God, to the contrary it says that God can also be found in money - that money ultimately belongs to God, and not the other way around'. These aspects should not be overlooked when analysing the life of a Pentecostal church like BLCI.

6.1.3 Absence of the Corruption Discourse

While the subject of individually focused morals dominated the discourses of the two churches, the same cannot be said about the problem of corruption. Pastors Banda and Mumba acknowledged that they had never addressed this problem directly in their churches. The topic did not even feature in the teaching life of the churches and this absence did not seem to bother anyone. When the question came up during the interviews and discussions, few participants had anything to say about the problem of corruption and those who did were quick to dismiss it as a problem outside the born-again fraternity. Although the participants in the study referred to corruption as a sin or moral problem, the responses to the question about corruption seem to reveal a possible lack of a clear and normative ethical framework on the subject. However, I discovered a different attitude regarding moral issues of personal concern where most of the participants were able to express identifiable ethical positions. For instance, according to some participants (like 'Rose Banda' and 'Christine Siwila' of Kwacha-PAOG), Pentecostal conversion provided them with specific belief systems about ethical behaviour (for example, alcoholism, sexual promiscuity and others).

Given the fact that corruption is one of Zambia's biggest (or the biggest) problems (*see* studies by Lavelle, Razafindrakoto and Rouboud 2008; Cho and Kirwin 2007; Lemba 2005; Bratton and Cho 2006; Simutanyi 2002), the absence of the corruption-talk in the teaching life of these churches is worthy of analysis. Some studies on the prevalence of corruption in Zambia have also highlighted the problem of silence on corruption. Although people in Zambia perceive corruption as condemnable, most of them do not even want to admit their involvement in corrupt activities (*see* studies by Mulenga, Chikwanha and Msoni 2004). Some studies in the past have also reported that in Zambia corruption did not seem to bother anyone at all. According to studies by Michael Bratton and Peter Lolojih (2009:5), it seems Zambians are worried about the quality of education, poverty, and unemployment issues and corruption was the least of their worries.

Whether this absence of the corruption-talk is another form of cultural silence or pessimistic attitude on corruption needs further investigation. Whatever it is, the churches' silence on corruption may not help the believers to respond, pastorally, to the problem of corruption. Breaking the silence on corruption can only take place when there is an emphasis on the believers' moral obligation within the society. The absence of the corruption-talk or theme from the churches' discourses has the danger of making the members think that it is not a

problem to reflect, pray about and repent from (this aspect shall be treated in §6.3.3). However, the whole issue should be examined in the light of Pentecostal understanding of spiritual experiences. Christianity, to a Pentecostal, is a life that involves making personal choices that have personal consequences. The belief in Jesus is highly exclusive as reflected in the catchphrase 'accepting Jesus as my personal Saviour' (in Bemba, *ukusumina Yesu Kristu ngomupusushi wobe*) that has become a mantra for salvation in Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. To a born-again believer, this belief is a moral choice because it involves choosing between having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ (moral life) and having the opposite (immoral life).

The argument by some participants that a born-again believer cannot be involved in corruption should be understood in the light of this spiritual experience. The born-again Christian is one who has made a personal choice for Christ, which is also a choice for holiness. In Pentecostal and charismatic parlance, the word holiness is normally considered to be another word for moral purity. Thus, the born-again is a morally transformed believer who, because of this fundamental spiritual experience, cannot participate or be associated with corruption in whatever form. The transformation that the participants referred to is moral transformation, the complete and total change of one's moral outlook and perception of moral values. This transformation experience is not limited to the personal morality of decency, sobriety and the like but expands beyond the boundaries of personal conduct.

6.2 Reforming Cultures of Corruption: Pentecostal Entry Points

Chapter three (especially §3.3) examined the correlation between religious belonging and individual attitudes towards corruption. The chapter noted that religions are strong forces within the cultures of society. Religions have an influence on ethical behaviour including power relations and structures within the society. Studies on church attendance in North America seem to suggest that Protestant Christianity fosters the rule of law and reduces corruption (*see* the discussion on §3.3.2). However, as noted in the chapter, this correlation may not be universally applicable. The impact of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity on the rule of law and corruption is still a subject of debate. The deep moralistic attitude of some Pentecostal trends and the prosperity-orientation of others have complicated the corruption debate. The argument in this study is that, given their unprecedented global expansion and impact on public ethical discourses, some aspects of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity should not be overlooked as entry points for the transformation of corrupt cultures and attitudes. This section highlights some of these aspects, as reflected in the case study, that could be valuable resources in the fight against corruption.

6.2.1 The personalisation or domestication of behaviour change

The study revealed the personalisation of spiritual experiences that characterise Pentecostal life. The relationship an individual has with Jesus is personal and this relationship demands a complete transformation of personal ethical conduct and a total break with the past. Both churches had strong messages on moral purity and ethical behaviour and, according to the participants (especially the Kwacha-PAOG participants), this helps them to deal with private moral choices. What is the impact of this emphasis on moral purity on the individual's public ethical behaviour? According to pastor Banda (Interview, 1/6/2017), when the born-again Christians 'live a holy and righteous life, and when they live a righteous life, they can avoid and resist corruption'. In other words, what this means is that the reform of the socio-political institutions cannot take place without the change of values, a paradigm shift. The participants emphasised that their conversion to Pentecostalism resulted in drastic changes in their way of thinking and behaviour (*see* Kwacha-PAOG interviews with 'Christine Siwila', 'Rose Banda' and 'Donald Mwansa').

According to some scholars, this Pentecostal emphasis on paradigm shift could be the basis for societal reformation and transformation. Nicolette Manglos (2010:409–31) has argued that Pentecostal or born-again conversion is more of a change in moral behaviour rather than a change in beliefs. De Sousa (2012:229) is convinced that the result of Pentecostal conversion is the total change of the believer's daily life through the adoption of a new ethical framework. In his (De Sousa 2012:229) words, 'being born again meant not a cultural break with the past, but also the adoption of a new moral compass for the convert's everyday life'. De Sousa (2012:230) believes that 'given their general probity, honesty and trustworthiness, born-again entrepreneurs appear to baulk at being drawn into corrupt dealings'. Berger (2008) makes the same point when he argued that the total package of Pentecostal conversion comes with moral aspects, namely, the Weberian ethic of hard work, soberness and a disciplined lifestyle (cited in De Sousa 2012:228).

While Pentecostal conversion may positively correlate with public ethical behaviour, some critics argue that this correlation is not automatic. Lawrence Schlemmer (2008:71) points out that one should not ignore studies that suggest that, apart from instilling stern values concerning public morality, Pentecostals and charismatics exhibit prescription of corruption. Ruth Marshall (1991:21–37) highlights some of her studies in Nigeria that seem to show that Pentecostal and charismatic Christians do not always adhere to the strong message of abstinence often preached in their churches. Gifford (1998a:39) also casts doubt on the ability of the Pentecostal movement to transform the society arguing that its popularity and increase in Africa could be attributed to the prosperity gospel rather than to the message of transformation. He (Gifford 1998a:38–9) argues that, among Pentecostals and charismatics, there is a disconnection between 'preached-religion' and 'lived-religion' such that, while Pentecostalism has the potential to change people's behaviour, there is doubt whether it can effect lasting and pervasive spiritual changes in a believer's life.

By personalising behaviour change, this type of spirituality does not help the believer to (a) confront, process and appropriate social issues or concerns and; (b) understand the moral and spiritual gravity of the problem of corruption. According to Daniel Smith (2007:214,217),

> The domestication of Pentecostal moralism, focusing attention on sexuality, marriage, and family, has enabled the prosperous to live piously even as they loot the state and society. […]. But the focus of Pentecostalism on personal morality obscures the ways in which it is more political behaviour that is often at the root of people's suffering. By privileging personal morality, Pentecostalism can both justify corruption in the public domain and hide the larger social and political structures that underlie inequality. This domestication of religious morality, in which individual conduct in the spheres of family, sexuality, and everyday religious observance are emphasized to the exclusion of attention to political and civic behaviour, enables elites to participate in corruption while still viewing themselves as ethical people. […]. The focus on morality in people's private lives both deflects attention from questions about political morality and fills the vacuum of amorality that Nigerians associate with their state, and the politicians and their cronies who dominate public life.

Although a negative correlation between Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity and tolerance of corruption cannot conclusively be established, evidence seems to suggest that Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity is slowly becoming one of the most active institutions in the anti-corruption landscape today. Firstly, in sub-Saharan Africa, Pentecostal 'culture' is slowly becoming a viable alternative to the cultures of corruption that saturate every aspect of society. Prosperity-oriented Pentecostal churches attract young men and women frustrated with the kin-based social network that frustrates their economic dreams and ambitions. Such an environment has fuelled kin-based corrupt activities thereby making the rich richer and the poor poorer (DJ Smith 2007:590–1; *see also* Marshall 1991:28). New Christ-centred networks, that open the believers to a new economic culture and prospects, are now replacing the old corrupt kin-centred networks.

Thus, the appeal of Pentecostalism among the young urbanites in sub-Saharan Africa could be attributed to the fact that Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity offers the believers public space to criticise corruption and, at the same time, avenues to circumvent the problem. As Marshall (1995:251-2) said:

> One can see in the Pentecostal circles the beginnings of the creation of a kind of "public space" in which the critique of government and social ills connected with misgovernment are organized through interdenominational interest groups. […]. Attacking corruption, exploitation, illegal practices, and "spiritual degeneration" in the institutions of what others have called "civil society," the Pentecostal movement not only debates civic virtue, but is attempting to bring it into the civic sphere of the nation. (*see also* De Sardan1999a: 48; DJ Smith 2007:191).

Again, other scholars highlight the possible correlation between Pentecostal conversion and the believer's rejection of corrupt-related practices. Gooren (1999) pointed out that, in other contexts, born-again entrepreneurs are known for insisting on fairness and ethics in business transactions even in ethically challenging environments. In his book *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*, David Martin (2002:80) discovered that the strict rules of the born-again community coupled with the believer's 'fear of God' created a framework of moral behaviour that can survive and overcome the temptations of a corrupt world in which the believers may be eking out a living. In his study of the social role of new Pentecostals in Guatemala, Ortiz (2007:312) noted that 'their conversion reshaped their inner world which also had effects on their world. […] people have an encounter with God by means of conversion that places in their agenda the possibility of becoming a new sort of person, professional, citizen, which can lead them to establish changes in their social status'. He (Ortiz 2007:322) believes that this Pentecostal emphasis on the reform of personal morals is important in the fight against corruption in that:

> The promotion of values although just beginning, could help to change the mentality with respect to the vices of the culture. The education of values, habits and attitudes that the NPCs [new Pentecostal churches] provide can help their members to face the challenges of their cultural ethos. The problem of corruption rooted in different levels of society, shows the need to promote ethics and morality to produce changes in all of the society.

In some contexts, the rigorous moralism of Pentecostal and charismatic churches has brought Pentecostals to the centre of anti-corruption campaigns and discourses. A few examples can be highlighted to buttress this point. For example, the *Jesus is Lord* (JIL) church is one of the biggest Pentecostal and charismatic churches in the Philippines with about five million members. According to Terence Chong (2015:8), 'JIL is heavily involved in national politics. Members of JIL are behind the political organization, Citizens Battle Against Corruption (CIBAC), to advance the church's call for moral renewal'. In 2002, in Nigeria, the Pentecostal dominated *The Christian Coalition against Corruption* organised a conference on 'Ridding Nigeria of Corrupt Practices'. Apart from criticising the doctrine of two kingdoms (heavenly and earthly) that has polluted African political culture, the conference asserted that, 'The Goliath of Corruption could be countered through a deep, reflective, transformed, and responsible Christianity empowered by the Holy Spirit; that the fight is the mandate for this generation; that the church must be a voice of transformation, and should change the ethics of the civil service through education' (cited in Kalu 2008:220).

Again, in Nigeria (according to the *Daily Independent*, 16/7/2017), the *Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria* (PFN) joined other religious leaders to form the *Religious Leaders Anti-Corruption* (RLAC), a group that 'proposed a new agenda on the fight against corruption, promised to tailor their sermons against the norm'. Emmanuel Isong, the national publicity secretary of PFN stated (in the *Daily Independent*, 16/7/2017) that, 'The purpose is to encourage our members because we influence more people than the ordinary government because we meet

people on Friday in the mosque and meet them on Sunday in the churches and we are hoping that with our enormous influence on our members we will bring up the message of anti-corruption'. These examples show that Pentecostal and charismatic churches are no longer observers, irrelevant or obstacles, in the fight against entrenched cultures of corruption. In fact, Pentecostalism is beginning to play a major role in developing Pentecostal social activism in Africa and other parts of the world and its 'spiritually-based approach […] and its effect on the lives of believers are able to address the root causes of the issues that call for social justice and action' (Fleming 2014:175; *see also* Villafane 1994; Robeck 1992; Anderson 2004:278). Thus, the Pentecostal and charismatic personalisation of expression and experience of faith may be a positive element that can help Pentecostalism to fine-tune its role in fighting systemic corruption in sub-Saharan Africa.

6.2.2 Rebuilding and reorientation of the individual

Apart from the emphasis on the individualistic approach to behaviour change, the study shows that what attracted the participants to 'Spirit-filled' churches was the emphasis on the empowerment, transformation and rebuilding of the individual. The Kwacha-PAOG spirituality was based on the understanding that true conversion will ultimately lead to the restoration of God's blessings as revealed in the Bible. According to Pentecostal and charismatic reasoning, the 'dis-empowerment' of the individual, resulting from sin and the work of the devil, manifests itself physically, spiritually, emotionally and psychologically. This situation creates a feeling of despondency and hopelessness in the face of massive poverty and the cancerous problem of corruption. In such a situation, according to pastor Banda, what is important is to reassure the believer of God's willingness and ability to deliver him/her out of the doldrums and ashes of poverty, hopelessness and general lack and transform the individual's socio-economic-and-spiritual condition for the better (*see* §4.3.2). Like what Kalu (2008:213) wrote:

> The Pentecostal message searches through God's assurance against poverty and sickness for signals of transcendence […]. The idiom of prosperity goes beyond material wealth to embrace such matters as spiritual renewal of the relationship with God in Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit, the rebuilding of all forms of brokenness, the provision of health, reversal of economic desolation.

Like I indicated earlier (*see* §6.1.3), this spirituality has received critical attention of late and this is based on the argument that prosperity-oriented churches are increasingly being caught in the corruption discourse, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Critics have pointed out that when money becomes the subject of church life, greed can pose a huge challenge to bringing the good news to a society reeling from poverty and corruption. Others have pointed out that one of the problems with this spirituality is that an excessive emphasis on money, wealth and success could expose the moral weaknesses of a church and this can be a source of corruption. Social and political sciences have shown that money, wealth and corruption are very close

neighbours and occasional workmates because 'intrinsically, the charismatic mood creates a degree of exuberance that could overflow the boundaries of the moral control system' (Kalu 2008:140).

Furthermore, there is the perception that these churches 'corrupt' the minds of the people, taking advantage of their desperation by manipulating the Bible to rob the poor people thereby enriching themselves (Lewison 2011:36). The other perception is that some of these churches seem to be justifying the pursuit of individual ambitions and the accumulation of wealth, regardless of means (Smith 2001:607). The problem with this spirituality is that there is a possibility it could motivate believers to engage in corrupt activities. Olukayode Faleye (2013:176) observed that 'Nowadays, churches now judge the commitment of their members by equating their contributions to project at par with their employment status or business standing. This approach is pushing many church members to commit financial crimes in order to meet their church expectations'.

However, this spirituality can be interpreted as an attempt to rebuild and recreate the individual to fight back against the causes of physical, spiritual, emotional and psychological hopelessness and depravity. This spirituality represents the Pentecostal way of responding to the problem of corruption: not to resign to failure, defeat and pessimism. The participants responded unequivocally to the problem of corruption by declaring that it has no place in Christian life and should not be associated with true believers. Therefore, this 'fissiparous dynamism of untutored religious entrepreneurship', as Martin (2002:18) calls new Pentecostalism, which has been criticised as a religion contrary to the 'priorities of a transcendental dimension' (Athyal 2007:227) may, through the rebuilding of the individual, be an appropriate entry point to the reform of cultures of corruption in society.

6.3 Towards a Sound Pentecostal Ethical Framework

The preceding section (§6.2) has argued that Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity has a major role to play in the reforming of cultures of corruption in society. Two aspects were highlighted from the case study: (a) Pentecostal belief and conviction that moral change on any level cannot take place without a personal transformation of the individual through being born-again and; (b) the focus on the social, economic and psychological rebuilding of the individual. I have argued that, though not robust and aggressive enough, these two aspects could be considered as entry points for anti-corruption reforms. This section offers suggestions on how these critical 'anti-corruption' components in Pentecostal spirituality can be strengthened to create a robust, aggressive Pentecostal ethical framework.

6.3.1 Rationalisation of greed

One aspect of modern Pentecostal spirituality that has been highlighted in scholarly literature is the potential of prosperity-oriented Pentecostal faith to rationalise greed and an unethical and irresponsible pursuit of wealth (§6.2.2). Paul Chung (2014:278) suggested that today, the Church needs to 'elaborate a greedy line, actualizing biblical teachings on wealth into concrete and contemporary guidance for a morally acceptable level of wealth'. Prosperity-oriented Christians seem to believe in 'the familiar gods of market fundamentalism or deus ex machina' (2014:279) who care for them and are active in their lives. However, according to Chung (2014:277), the God of Jesus Christ 'also hears the cries of the slave, the oppressed, and poor and set them free [...]. This God is the God of life [...] God challenges and unmasks the face of mammon, which is legitimizing greed, power and wealth. We are called co-workers of God in this direction'. There is a need for the church today to have 'a normative framework for the social responsibility of wealth' (2014:278).

What is the appropriate pastoral, theological and ethical framework to deal with greed and corruption? Over three decades ago, the Sri Lankan liberation theologian, Aloysius Pieris (1980:116–7), argued that if the Church is to gain her credibility today, she must, like Christ, stand up against the modern money-polluted religiosity. She must also 'be humble enough to be baptized in the Jordan of Asian Religiosity and be bold enough to be baptized on the Cross of Asian Poverty' (Pieris 1979:50). To Pieris (1979:50), baptism on the 'Cross of Asian Poverty' meant the identification and solidarity of the Church with the poor. This also meant that the Church needs to be actively involved in the fight against the exploitative social order, even if the Church is to be persecuted or labelled as the enemy of the state. Applying Pieris' theory to the Zambian context today one could also argue that there is an obvious need for Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Zambia to be baptised on the 'Cross of Corruption', a sacrifice many churches are unwilling to bear. As Anderson (2014:170–1) has pointed out:

> If there is a criticism often justifiably levelled at Pentecostals and Charismatics, it is that they have sometimes expounded a theology of success and power at the expense of a theology of the cross […]. Spirituality is not to be measured merely in terms of success […]. A one-sided pneumatology is a danger to all of us […]. The Spirit is the tender Comforter, the one who comes alongside to help and strengthen us whenever we encounter trials and problems. This comforting ministry of the Spirit also needs to be emphasized in an African world plagued with famine, poverty, economic and political oppression, and disease […]. Christian theology must not only provide power when there is a lack of it – it must also be able to sustain through life's tragedies and failures especially when there is no visible success.

6.3.2 Inadequate Image of God

One of the main problems that stand in the way of a sound ethical approach to the problem of corruption is the concept of God that is becoming popular among Pentecostals and charismatics in Zambia today. On being asked why they were not interested in knowing about the financial life of their church, the Kitwe-BLCI participants responded that God does not ignore evil. According to the participants, since there is biblical proof that God punishes evil and deceit, a corrupt individual and church will not survive the wrath of God (*see* §5.3.1).

The problem with this doctrine is that it seems to justify the believers' inaction towards corruption and leaves everything to divine intervention. This attitude is not only limited to the problem of corruption but to other social problems as well – the believer should not usurp the power of God because God is in control of everything. According to this understanding of God, if there was corruption or any unethical practices within BLCI and in the life of Imakando, how would one explain the success that has characterised his life and that of the church? One participant argued that Imakando's successes signify the presence of righteousness and godliness (*see* §5.3.1). Thus, it seems, according to the participants, that all riches and wealth come from God and are signs of God's pleasure or confirmation of one's conduct.

Reflecting on this understanding, one gets the picture of a God who is liable to human manipulation, a God who seems to participate and support corrupt activities. God is understood as an agent or power that can 'cleanse' or 'purify' ill-gotten wealth for use in the church. Since God, to most of the participants, is self-contained, self-sufficient and self-satisfied, God plans to make believers appropriate these qualities, in the economic sense. However, before one can access blessings from God, one must 'bless' God first through tithing and giving. When one gives to God, God will then reciprocate by showering the giver with blessings. How does such an understanding of God play in the minds of the people who live in a corrupt environment whereby nothing can be done without 'blessing' a person in a position of power?

This study is suggesting that the current Pentecostal ethical framework should be grounded and rooted, firstly, in God's character of holiness. God's holiness means that God desires perfection and goodness. An ethical understanding of corruption is founded on the character and nature of God, as the Holy One. God is not only the source of holiness but of morality as well. Corruption, like all moral vices, is the opposite of what God stands for and goes against the character of God. If God is holy in will and action, then, corruption is a rejection, and a disorder, of God's character. This ethical framework could help the church to see corruption as a sin that goes against the nature of God as revealed and exemplified in Jesus Christ. Secondly, this framework should be grounded in the belief that one, the human being was created in the likeness and image of God and, two, God's plan is for humanity to participate in the life of the Creator, the life of holiness and uprightness.

This divine plan is revealed and fulfilled in Jesus Christ and, through him, humanity can participate fully in God's kingdom by having a proper relationship with God. The refusal of this plan is a sin that, in other words, is the disruption of the relationship with God and refusal to respond to God's call to holiness. This disruption, inevitably, leads to the disruption of the relationship with one's neighbour. Pentecostal spirituality needs to emphasise this collective sense of sin, that is, the realisation that the burden of guilt and responsibility for the presence of sin in the community falls on both the individual and the community. This representation of collective sin and responsibility is an element that does not seem to be reflected in the churches studied. Since Pentecostal spirituality is based on the conviction that God's blessings belong to the individual and to the community of born-again believers, in the same way, the same born-again individual and community should take responsibility for situations that encourage or create conditions for corruption thereby weakening the individual and collective sense of sin.

6.3.3 Altar-call for corrupt-related activities

In African societies today, Pentecostal practices and teachings have contributed immensely in moulding the behaviour of the people. This is evident in the way Pentecostals have engaged with sexual matters, substance abuse, HIV/AIDS prevention and other issues (*see* also §2.2). Through its non-negotiable demands to break with the past, Pentecostal spirituality has been able to shape the moral behaviour of born-again believers. As indicated in §1.3.3, Pentecostal spirituality requires the convert to completely sever his/her ties with the past for one to experience the transformation of one's life. This is not simply a break with one's traditional practices but a total separation with one's 'cultural' values and the adoption of a new value system. Participants in the study confirmed that they experienced this rupture, a break with their past lives when they became born-again. This helped them to live honest and disciplined lives.

Pentecostal practices emphasise both proscription and prescription whereby immoral behaviour is condemned unreservedly, and right conduct encouraged. This helps the convert to experience the processes of discontinuity with the past and continuity with the future. The moral change or transformation of the individual is attributed to this process (Quiroz 2016:5). The practice of 'altar-calls', common in Pentecostal worship, is an important and critical step to achieve the desired moral change. A person who has been living an immoral life is encouraged to come forward and publicly manifest their repentance of sin. In some cases, there is a counselling session following the altar-call. Some participants narrated their altar-call experiences and how it changed their lives. This process is not only a requirement for converts but is repeated in cases of moral failure by the born-again believer.

What I have noticed, and what is supported by scholarly evidence, is that Pentecostal public confession of an individual's moral failure, repentance and the subsequent reordering of a

person's values is an experience that has a transformative impact on the believer. Public confession of sin and admittance of moral failure has a psychological effect on the moral transformation of the believer in that:

> Fundamental to Christian understandings of speech acts of confession, counselling and testimony is the assumption that a person cannot be the moral judge of the own 'self'. Instead, in the moral construction of the self, a sympathetic mirroring needs to take place vis-à-vis an other or others, so as to achieve such as an assessment. There is a mimetic principle […] in these speech acts that constitutes the subject as reflecting and internalizing the moral standing, authority and identity of […] any figure of similar spiritual disposition. These speech acts do not only express the workings of the divine on the moral shaping of the subject, but are the vehicle that brings about that moral subject. In many parts of Africa, words and speech are powerful in bringing about a realization of the subject, more than just being an expression of intentions and motivations. (Moyer, Burchard and Van Dijk 2013:S436)

Quiroz (2016:12) agrees with this opinion

> In many Pentecostal circles in Africa, making public what is hidden is seen as a form of "deliverance": it counterbalances traditional forms of spiritual power rooted in secrecy […] for a person to make a public confession, she must first admit her fault and repent. This means that before a person can recognize certain behaviour as sin, she must have already internalized certain moral criteria. This assimilation of moral behaviour takes place gradually, from the moment of conversion, as a person is socialized into the life of the church […]. In turn, the enforcement of disciplinary techniques after a person has committed sin and repented can be seen as ways in which people, collectively, have the opportunity to rethink and later reinforce what they have learnt as part of the new value system. […] By doing so, they reinforce the importance of the new values to themselves and, through their own experiential example of shame and redemption, to others.

Just like other vices, participation in corrupt activities, both as a victim or culprit, should be publicly classified as a major 'sin' and be subjected to the same rigorous spiritual-moral scrutiny and discipline like other 'sins'. Participation in corruption is one of the areas in which African Christians often face a dilemma in choices. The person is caught up between two moral systems: the family system that amoralises certain corrupt-like practices, on the one hand, and work ethics that demand impartiality and high standards of professional integrity, on the other (*see* §3.2.2). If participation in corrupt activities is categorised as a moral failure that requires public confession and repentance, then one is challenged to re-examine one's value system and adopt the new value system rooted in ethical purity.

In concluding this study, it is important to point out that Pentecostal life is built on a strict spiritual and moral discipline that demands a complete discontinuity with a past value system. This ethical framework emphasises that sinning incurs the wrath and disfavour of God. My argument here is that this ethical framework is not sound enough to free the believers from the bondage of endless greed and corrupt networks that prevent people from living humanely and enjoy God's favour. Although it could be an entry point to the reform of cultures of corruption, it needs more breadth and depth. This apparent weakness in Pentecostal ethics is not helping the believers to navigate and negotiate the complicated terrain of cultural values in relation to corruption, thus denying Pentecostal churches opportunities of becoming important actors and forces of socio-moral change in Zambian society. Engaging with deep-rooted cultures of corruption in African societies demands complete separation of an individual from these deeply embedded and established cultural values. Pentecostal spirituality, with its deep concern for the human being, could play a significant and critical role in the fight against corruption.

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Summary

Corruption is arguably the biggest challenge facing Zambia today. This problem is a like canter worm, a monumental endemic, that has eaten deep into the fabric of the society. In Zambia, the Auditor General's annual laments about the millions of dollars either misappropriated or misapplied by different government departments are now sounding like a broken record. In everyday life, bribery and extortions have now become acceptable features in business transactions and the procurement of public services. Despite the existence of constitutional and legal anti-corruption frameworks, successive Zambian governments have not shown the political will to deal with the problem of corruption. Over the years, several government officials and political elites have been caught in corruption scandals that have seen the unbridled, audacious and senseless looting of the country's treasury and aid coffers. Ironically, Zambia is, constitutionally, a 'Christian nation' with nearly three-quarters of the population claiming to be Christians. A quarter of this fast-growing Christian population subscribes to the dynamic Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. Studies have shown that religions can create transformational cultures that can play a key role in the moral revitalisation of society. Since corruption is an ethical and integrity problem, this raises the question of whether Christian moral and ethical values, especially Pentecostal and charismatic values, could be an appropriate and effective strategy in the fight against corruption.

This study examines the relationship between Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity and the spreading cancer of corruption in Zambia. The study was an ethnographic case study on two Pentecostal churches in Kitwe, *Assemblies of God* in Kwacha (Kwacha-PAOG) and *Bread of Life Church International* in Kitwe central (Kitwe-BLCI). The main objective of the project was to examine how Pentecostal churches conceptualise the problem of corruption and how the believers engage with this conceptualisation. In other words, what the study examines is the possible discursive relationship between Pentecostal spirituality and the believers' perception of corruption. The special focus on Pentecostalism in this study is justified by the fact that it is undoubtedly one of the fastest growing religious currents in the Global South today. In Zambia, one of the prominent variants of this new Christianity is the 'health and wealth'/'Word of Faith'/'prosperity' movement that has dominated the local Pentecostal and charismatic discourses and shaped the lives of the people whose hopes are anchored on the belief in divinely authored 'favours' or 'breakthroughs'. With the country facing serious problems resulting from a deepening corruption crisis and an erosion of ethical values among public officials, the study investigates whether Pentecostalism, the most influential Christian trend in Zambia, can provide the moral and spiritual framework to help the members respond appropriately to the challenges of corruption.

This thesis is unpacked in five chapters. The first chapter clears the path for the reader to understand the nature of the study and what it intends to achieve. In sub-Saharan Africa, the lives of the people have been impacted deeply by Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity, on the one hand, and the problem of corruption, on the other, such that the relationship between the two phenomena demands critical attention. There are three arguments in this chapter. The first argument is that corruption is an ethical behavioural and integrity problem that can adequately be handled by ethical-religious frameworks rather than legal or constitutional tools. The second argument in this chapter is that two reasons justify the inclusion of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in the 'theatres' of anti-corruption strategies. Firstly, this Christian trend or constituency is undoubtedly the most popular, powerful and influential social culture in sub-Saharan Africa today. Secondly, its historical and existential connection to 'holy living' and right conduct and the emergence of a Pentecostal money-centred spirituality gives it an important place in the fight against corruption today. The third argument is that the study of corruption and Pentecostalism demands a practical theological investigation because it is a context-based, practice-focused and transformation-oriented discipline that can help to understand ethical behaviour and norms.

The second chapter is a reflection on the methodology (the data collection and the research tools) that I employed during the research. A critical literature review is carried out at the beginning of the chapter to give an overview of the current Pentecostal and charismatic studies in Zambia. This chapter calls for three epistemological shifts in Pentecostal and charismatic studies. The first proposed shift is from a concise to a discursive approach that tries to interpret spiritual and religious meanings in their context. The second shift that is proposed in this study is from institutional to grassroots narratives, the 'view from the perspectives of those below', or the lived faith of the believers. By investigating the Pentecostal and charismatic engagement with corruption, the study also calls for an epistemological shift from the 'triumphal narratives' to the 'narratives of struggles'. Since it attempts to highlight both the dominant and less-dominant voices within the churches, to carry out a holistic examination of the life of the churches, the study is grounded in congregational studies. The deep exploration of the lived-spirituality and the life of the two churches was done using the tools of *ecclesiological-ethnography*, which is a symbiosis of ethnography and ecclesiology. This is a methodology that enabled the researcher to have socio-cultural and theological hermeneutical tools to understand the lives of the two churches. The chapter also underlines the fact that engagements with Pentecostal and charismatic churches demands openness, spontaneity (willing to embrace raw and unscripted engagements) and having a critical unbiased attitude towards Pentecostal and charismatic life.

The third chapter attempts to create a theoretical relationship between Pentecostalism and the problem of corruption. The main argument in this chapter is that the relationship between Pentecostalism and corruption is more discursive than causal and that Pentecostal and charismatic scholars should accord this discursive link serious and critical attention. This argument covers three sections. The first section emphasises that, despite the economic nature of corruption, socio-cultural norms and values play a big role in shaping a person's

attitude towards corrupt activities. Here corruption is understood as a socio-cultural and economic phenomenon with a distinctive ethical aura. The second section highlights the point that religious belonging contains norms of social capital that contributes greatly to the general well-being of the civic society. The third section argues that while churches, or faith communities in general, contribute positively to the formation of civility, they can also promote and cultivate, in a discursive way, norms and values that generate and promote vices like corruption and greed. This section examines the relationship between corruption discourse and prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism. The section discusses in depth (and in the light of Weber's thesis of 'Protestant Ethic') the relationship between the economic framework of Pentecostal and charismatic life and the believer's upward economic mobility. After a deep and critical engagement with the vast body of literature on the subject, the chapter concludes that, despite its positive effect on the believer's socio-economic well-being, prosperity-oriented Pentecostalism is being caught up in the corruption discourse through its insistence on the pursuit of individual ambitions and accumulation of wealth.

The fourth and fifth chapters are focused on the research settings, namely, Kwacha-PAOG and Kitwe-BLCI. These two chapters are dedicated to the ethnographic fieldwork that took place in these congregations. These chapters sought to discover how (1) these churches are responding, practical theologically, to the problem of corruption and; (2) the members of these churches are engaging with this problem. Regarding Kwacha-PAOG, the study noted *denials* as well as *acknowledgements* from the participants. The Kwacha-PAOG denied (a) the description that the church's teachings were local versions of the popular prosperity-oriented theology and, (b) the perception that even born-again Christians are increasingly being involved in corrupt activities. However, they seem to acknowledge that (a) the prosperity-oriented theology or 'gospel', discursively, promotes corrupt activities among believers and; (b) the teaching ministry of the church sidesteps the discussion on corruption.

Unlike Kwacha-PAOG, the study noted that the life of Kitwe-BLCI revolves around the 'gospel' that God rewards faithfulness with favour, that is, prosperity and abundance. Despite denials by some participants that their church is a prosperity-centred congregation, the research discovered that the desire for material success and prosperity is one of the motivating factors drawing people to BLCI. In my interactions with Kitwe-BLCI participants, there are three aspects that I found relevant to the objectives of the study. The first aspect was the passionate defence of the affluent and opulent lifestyle of the founding and presiding bishop, Imakando. The participants interpreted the church's 'successes' (demographically and materially) as signs that the life of Imakando and the church are 'right' in the sight of God. Another aspect worth noting was the lack of interest in any discussion concerning corruption among the BLCI members. The third aspect was that the participants exhibited serious lack of interest in the administrative aspects of the church especially when it comes to transparency and accountability in financial matters. Fuelling these attitudes was a belief in a God who is involved in all aspects of the believer's life as well as the life of the church. To the participants, therefore, the lack of transparency and accountability (or the presence of corrupt practices) in

a church are symptoms of a spiritual problem that can only be dealt with by being right with God.

The last chapter integrates and summarises the findings of the study. The first section highlights three outstanding aspects of the ethnographic conversations and fieldwork. The first aspect underlined in this section is the adoption of principles of good business among Pentecostal and charismatic churches. Here the emphasis is that transparency and accountability are increasingly becoming the hallmarks of Pentecostal life in general. Another aspect that dominated the conversations is the popular prosperity-focused teachings that consider material success as an indicator of God's favour. However, this section noted that Pentecostals and charismatics do not consider material transformation as the criterion but as one of the reflectors of salvation. The third aspect highlighted was the conspicuous absence of the discourse on corruption from the teachings of the two churches. The participants exhibited a total denial of the presence of corrupt activities among born-again Christians. The section noted that this absence and denial of the corruption discourse can undermine the gravity and magnitude of socio-and politico-economic dimensions of corruption.

The second section highlights three aspects, from the case study, that could provide entry points for Pentecostal and charismatic reform of 'cultures' of corruption. The study revealed the churches' spiritual cosmology that regards spiritual experiences as personal and individual salvation as the norm for the human being and the touchstone to evaluate ethical behaviour. This cosmology encourages the believer to adopt a spirituality that is anchored on personal purity, edification and betterment. This Pentecostal culture of taming or domesticating morality and all aspects of church life has the potential of helping Pentecostalism to curve its place amid anti-corruption campaigns. Besides, Pentecostal and charismatic emphasis on the empowerment, transformation and rebuilding of an individual is an aspect that is worthy of emphasis. This aspect has been criticised for providing justification or rationale for the irresponsible and intemperate pursuit of wealth. By discouraging failure and pessimism in the face of economic dis-empowerment, Pentecostal and charismatic emphasis on the rebuilding of the individual could be an identifiable anti-corruption response. The third section argues that, despite the presence of these potentially 'anti-corruption' components, Pentecostal spirituality lacks a robust and aggressive ethical framework to participate fully and comprehensively in anti-corruption discourses. One component that should be strengthened is the framework to critique greed, power and wealth. Another component is the creation of a framework that sees corruption as a sin that goes against the nature of God that is revealed in Jesus Christ. The third component is the deepening of the Pentecostal practice of altar-calls that demands the public manifestation of repentance. If participation in corrupt activities is categorised as a moral failure, then one is compelled to adopt a new value system anchored on the practice of ethical conduct and integrity.

The study makes a unique and significant contribution to academic enquiries on Pentecostalism and corruption in that it attempts to investigate the possible relationship

between Pentecostalism and the problem of corruption. Although the link between religious belonging and corruption has aroused immense interests among economists and political scientists, the possible (and hypothetical) relationship between Pentecostalism (especially the 'prosperity-oriented' trend) and corruption does not seem to stimulate the same curiosity within theological circles. Empirical studies on the impact of religion on corruption or social behaviour have shown that religious belonging is significantly associated with positive norms and values, on the one hand, and less corruption, on the other hand, depending on the nature of belonging, spirituality and structure of each denomination. However, understanding the peoples' religiosity and social behaviour demands a different epistemological framework that can only be understood in discursive contexts.

Samenvatting

Corruptie is, wellicht, de grootste uitdaging waar Zambia vandaag de dag mee te maken heeft. Het trekt diepe sporen in het weefsel van de Zambiaanse samenleving. Het jaarlijkse rapport van de *Auditor-General* van Zambia laat iedere keer opnieuw zien hoe miljoenen dollars verduisterd of verkeerd gebruik worden door verschillende overheidsdiensten. In het dagelijks leven zijn omkoping en afpersing in zakelijke deals en bij de aanbesteding van publieke diensten aan de orde van de dag. Ondanks dat Zambia constitutionele en juridische kaders voor corruptiebestrijding kent, hebben de opeenvolgende Zambiaanse regeringen geen politieke wil getoond om het probleem van corruptie aan te pakken. Sterker nog, in de loop der jaren zijn verschillende regeringsfunctionarissen en politici aangeklaagd voor betrokkenheid bij corruptieschandalen die de ongeremde plundering van zowel de nationale schatkist als van hulpgoederen hebben aangetoond. Ironisch genoeg echter is Zambia volgens de grondwet een 'christelijke natie'; bijna driekwart van de bevolking noemt zichzelf christen. Een kwart van de snelgroeiende, christelijke bevolking behoort tot de dynamische Pinksterbeweging en het charismatisch christendom. Uit onderzoek weten we dat religies een transformerende functie kunnen hebben en zo een rol kunnen spelen in de morele hervorming van een maatschappij. Aangezien corruptie een ethisch en integriteitsprobleem is, ontstaat hieruit de vraag in hoeverre christelijke morele en ethische waarden - en met name de waarden die aan de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging verbonden zijn - een passende en doeltreffende strategie zouden kunnen (moeten?) zijn in de strijd tegen corruptie.

Dit onderzoek zoomt in op de relatie tussen de Pinksterbeweging en het charismatisch christendom en het steeds verder uitdijende gezwel van corruptie in Zambia. Het onderzoek bestaat uit een etnografisch casestudy onderzoek naar twee Pinksterkerken in Kitwe, namelijk de *Assemblies of God* in Kwacha (Kwacha-PAOG) en de *Bread of Life Church International* in het centrum van Kitwe (Kitwe-BLCI). Het belangrijkste doel van deze studie is om te onderzoeken op welke manier(en) de Pinksterkerken het probleem van corruptie conceptualiseren en op welke manier(en) de gelovigen hiermee omgaan. Met andere woorden, wat dit proefschrift onderzoekt is de mogelijke discursieve relatie tussen de spiritualiteit van Pinksterkerken en de perceptie van gelovigen van corruptie. De focus in dit onderzoek ligt op de Pinksterbeweging, omdat deze vorm van christendom momenteel de snelst groeiende religieuze beweging in het Zuidelijk halfrond is. In Zambia is het met name de zogenoemde *'health and wealth'/'Word of Faith'/'prosperity'* variant van de Pinksterbeweging die dominant is. De invloed van deze theologie op het geloof en het leven van de gemeenteleden is groot. Het leven van de gelovigen is doortrokken van de hoop op door God gegeven 'gunsten' of 'doorbraken'. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt in hoeverre deze

Pinksterbeweging in staat is om haar gelovigen een moreel en spiritueel kader te bieden, om zo op een adequate manier om te kunnen gaan met de corruptie in het land.

Dit proefschrift is opgebouwd in vijf hoofdstukken. In het eerste hoofdstuk wordt beschreven wat de context van dit onderzoek is en wat het beoogt te bereiken. In Sub-Sahara Afrika wordt het dagelijks leven van haar inwoners enerzijds gevormd door de Pinksterbeweging en het charismatische christendom, en anderzijds door het wijdverspreide probleem van corruptie. De relatie tussen deze twee fenomenen moet daarom kritisch tegen het licht gehouden worden. Dit hoofdstuk formuleert drie uitgangspunten. Het eerste punt is dat corruptie een ethisch en een integriteitsprobleem is dat zou moeten worden tegengegaan door ethisch-religieuze kaders, ter versterking van de juridische en politieke instrumenten. Het tweede uitgangspunt is dat er met name twee redenen zijn die ervoor pleiten om de Pinksterbeweging en het charismatisch christendom te incorporeren in de strijd tegen corruptie. Allereerst vanwege de enorme populariteit van en de invloed die dit gedachtegoed heeft op de hedendaagse cultuur in Sub-Sahara Afrika. Ten tweede vanwege de relatie die de Pinksterbeweging heeft met zowel de notie van een 'heilig leven', van oudsher, als met de opkomst van een spiritualiteit waarbij geld een centrale rol vervult. Het derde uitgangspunt is dat onderzoek naar corruptie en de Pinksterbeweging vraagt om een praktisch-theologische perspectief, aangezien deze discipline focust op de kwalitatieve bestudering van contexten, praktijken en transformaties waardoor ethische gedragingen en normen begrepen kunnen worden.

In het tweede hoofdstuk staat de bespreking van de onderzoeksmethodologie centraal. Het hoofdstuk begint met een kritisch literatuuronderzoek waarin een overzicht wordt gegeven van het onderzoek dat in de afgelopen jaren naar de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging in Zambia is uitgevoerd. Dit hoofdstuk pleit voor drie epistemologische veranderingen binnen het onderzoek naar de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging. De eerste verandering betreft de verschuiving van een abstracte, statistische naar een discursieve onderzoeksmethode, waardoor spirituele en religieuze betekenissen in hun specifieke context geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden. De tweede verschuiving is van een institutioneel perspectief naar het perspectief van het geleefde geloof, een perspectief van onderop. Daarnaast pleit dit onderzoek, vanwege zijn focus op de verhouding van de Pinkster- en charismatische kerken tot corruptie, voor een nadruk op narratieven waarin de worstelingen van gelovigen centraal staan, in plaats van hun triomfantelijke overwinningen in het geloof. Om zowel de dominante als minder dominante stemmen en de geleefde spiritualiteit binnen de geloofsgemeenschappen te onderzoeken is gebruik gemaakt van de ecclesiologisch-etnografische methode. Deze methode stelt de onderzoeker in staat om door middel van sociaal-culturele en theologisch-hermeneutische kaders geloofsgemeenschappen beter te begrijpen. Ten slotte benadrukt hoofdstuk twee dat onderzoek naar de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging een type onderzoek behoeft waarin ruimte is voor openheid en spontaniteit (het open staan voor pure en onvoorbereide ervaringen), maar waarin er tegelijkertijd kritisch en onbevooroordeeld naar het leven en geloven binnen de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging wordt gekeken.

In het derde hoofdstuk wordt een theoretisch verband gelegd tussen de Pinksterbeweging en het probleem van corruptie. Het belangrijkste standpunt van hoofdstuk drie is dat dit verband discursief is en niet causaal. Onderzoekers zouden hun aandacht moeten richten op dit discursieve verband. Dit standpunt is opgebouwd uit drie delen. Het eerste deel benadrukt dat iemands houding ten aanzien van corrupte activiteiten voornamelijk gevormd wordt door sociaal-culturele normen en waarden. Corruptie wordt op deze manier opgevat als een sociaal-cultureel en economisch verschijnsel met een eigen ethisch karakter. Het tweede deel laat zien dat het behoren tot een religieuze groep bepaalde normen met zich meebrengt die een grote bijdrage kunnen leveren aan het algemeen welzijn van de burgermaatschappij. De derde paragraaf bouwt op dit argument voort. Ondanks dat geloofsgemeenschappen een positieve bijdrage kunnen leveren aan de maatschappij blijken ze ook in staat om normen en waarden te genereren die wangedrag als hebzucht en corruptie bevorderen. In dit derde deel wordt onderzocht wat de relatie is tussen het discourse over corruptie en de op welvaart (*prosperity*) georiënteerde Pinksterbeweging. Aan de hand van Webers stelling over protestantse ethiek wordt onderzocht wat de relatie is tussen het economische aspect van leven in de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging enerzijds en de opwaartse economische mobiliteit van de gelovigen. De conclusie luidt dat de op welvaart gerichte Pinksterbeweging, ondanks dat het een positief effect kan hebben op het sociaaleconomische welzijn van de gelovige, wel degelijk gevangen zit in een corruptie discourse, juist vanwege de nadruk die er binnen de beweging wordt gelegd op het nastreven van individuele ambities en het vergaren van rijkdom.

In het vierde en vijfde hoofdstuk staat de bespreking centraal van het etnografische veldwerk dat is gedaan binnen Kwacha-PAOG en Kitwe-BLCI. De twee onderzoeksvragen tijdens dit veldwerk waren 1. hoe reageren deze kerken in praktisch-theologische zin op het probleem van corruptie, en 2. op welke manier zijn de gemeenteleden betrokken bij corruptie? Uit het onderzoek naar Kwacha-PAOG blijkt dat de respondenten dit zowel ontkennen als bevestigen. Ze ontkennen a. dat wat er in de kerk wordt geleerd een lokale versie is van de op welvaart georiënteerde theologie, en b. dat zelfs wedergeboren christenen steeds vaker betrokken zijn bij corrupte activiteiten. Anderzijds bevestigen de respondenten van Kwacha-PAOG dat a. de op welvaart gerichte theologie (ook wel het 'welvaartsevangelie' genoemd) corruptiepraktijken van haar gelovigen bevordert, en b. dat het huidige kerkelijke onderwijs compleet voorbijgaat aan het probleem van corruptie.

Het onderzoek toont aan dat, in tegenstelling tot Kwacha-PAOG, het geloofsleven binnen Kitwe-BLCI gecentreerd is rond de opvatting dat God gelovigen beloond met welvaart en overvloed. Ondanks dat een klein aantal respondenten deze conclusie ontkent, laat het onderzoek zien dat een verlangen naar materieel succes en welvaart één van de belangrijkste factoren is waarom gelovigen zich aansluiten bij Kitwe-BLCI. Tijdens mijn onderzoek binnen BLCI bleken met name drie aspecten relevant voor dit onderzoek. Het eerste aspect is dat veel respondenten de welvarende en weelderige levensstijl van de oprichter, bisschop Imakando, verdedigen. Zij interpreteren de materiële en demografische successen die de kerk boekt als een teken dat het leven van de bisschop en van de kerk zelf 'goed' zijn in Gods ogen. Een

ander inzicht dat het onderzoek binnen BLCI oplevert is het gebrek aan belangstelling bij de gemeenteleden voor een gesprek over corruptie. Ten slotte valt op dat de respondenten niet bijzonder geïnteresseerd zijn in de bestuurlijke aspecten van de kerk, met name over transparantie en de verantwoordingsplicht in financiële aangelegenheden. Deze desinteresse wordt gevoed door het idee dat God betrokken is bij alle aspecten van het leven, zowel op kerkelijk als op persoonlijk niveau. De gelovigen zien het ontbreken transparantie en verantwoordingsplicht - of de aanwezigheid van corrupte praktijken – primair als symptomen van een spiritueel probleem en dat kan alleen worden opgelost door rechtvaardig voor God te staan.

In het laatste hoofdstuk worden de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek geïntegreerd en samengevat. Het eerste deel belicht drie opmerkelijke bevindingen die zijn opgedaan door de etnografische gesprekken en het veldwerk. Allereerst dat de Pinkster- en charismatische kerken de principes van goed zakendoen hebben geïncorporeerd. Dit houdt in dat transparantie en verantwoordingsplicht steeds meer de kenmerken van het leven binnen de Pinksterbeweging worden. Een dominant thema tijdens het veldwerk was de populariteit van het op welvaart georiënteerde evangelie waarbij materiële successen als gunsten van God worden beschouwd. Hierbij moet echter opgemerkt worden dat de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging materiële verbetering niet als een criterium, maar als een kenmerk van verlossing zien. Een derde bevinding die in het onderzoek is opgedaan is de opvallende afwezigheid van een serieus discours over corruptie in de geloofscommunicatie van zowel de PAOG als de BLCI. De respondenten ontkennen nadrukkelijk dat wedergeboren christenen in hun kerken betrokken zijn bij corrupte praktijken. Deze ontkenning van de aanwezigheid van corruptie kan echter ook de ernst en omvang van de sociaal- en politiek-economische aspecten van corruptie ondermijnen.

Het tweede deel van het laatste hoofdstuk belicht drie uit de casestudy voortgekomen aspecten die voor de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging als aanknopingspunten kunnen dienen voor een hervorming van de 'cultuur' rond corruptie. Zo brengt dit onderzoek een spirituele kosmologie aan het licht waarin persoonlijke, individuele redding gezien wordt als de norm voor geloof. Op grond hiervan wordt ethisch handelen getoetst. Dit moedigt gelovigen aan om in hun spiritualiteit te streven naar persoonlijke zuiverheid en individuele lotsverbetering. Met deze 'cultuur' van het domesticeren van alle aspecten van het persoonlijke geloofsleven heeft de Pinksterbeweging een sterk potentieel in handen om haar geluid te laten horen in de anti-corruptie campagnes. Hieraan kon nog worden toegevoegd de nadruk die er binnen de Pinkster- en charismatische beweging wordt gelegd op het versterken en transformeren van het individu. Dit is een aspect dat niet voldoende benadrukt kan worden in deze context. Vaak wordt dit aspect bekritiseerd, omdat hiermee het onverantwoord en ongelimiteerd verwerven van rijkdommen gerechtvaardigd kan worden. Door het ontmoedigen van falen en pessimisme in tijden van maatschappelijke of persoonlijke economische tegenwind zou de betekenis van het zich transformerende ('wedergeboren') individu echter ook gebruikt kunnen worden als een antwoord op corruptie. Desondanks stelt de derde paragraaf van het laatste hoofdstuk dat de spiritualiteit van de

Pinksterbeweging een krachtig en actief ethisch kader mist om volledig en uitvoerig deel te nemen aan de strijd tegen corruptie. Een onderdeel dat verbeterd zou moeten worden is het creëren van een moreel kader van waaruit kritiek geleverd wordt op hebzucht, macht en rijkdom. Daarnaast zou er een theologisch kader moeten worden gecreëerd dat corruptie ziet als een zonde die tegen het wezen van God in gaat, zoals geopenbaard in Jezus Christus. Het derde aspect, tenslotte is het voorstel om het ritueel van de '*altar-calls*' te verdiepen door ze in te vullen als een publiekelijke manifestatie van morele bekering. Als het meewerken aan corrupte activiteiten als moreel verwerpelijk wordt beschouwd, dan noodzaakt dit tot het aannemen van een nieuw waardensysteem, gebaseerd op integriteit en goed ethisch gedrag.

Dit onderzoek levert een unieke en belangrijke bijdrage aan het academisch onderzoek naar zowel de Pinksterbeweging als corruptie door de mogelijke relatie tussen de Pinksterbeweging en corruptie te onderzoeken. Hoewel het verband tussen religie en corruptie grote belangstelling heeft gewekt onder economen en politicologen heeft dit (hypothetische) verband, met name met de welvaart-georiënteerde stroming van de Pinksterbeweging, niet dezelfde nieuwsgierigheid gewekt onder theologen. Empirische studies die gedaan zijn naar de impact van religie op corruptie of sociaal gedrag hebben laten zien dat religie vooral wordt geassocieerd met positieve normen en waarden en met een vermindering van corruptie, afhankelijk van religieuze betrokkenheid, de beleving van spiritualiteit en de denominationele achtergrond. Om echter de religiositeit en het sociale gedrag van mensen te begrijpen is een ander epistemologisch kader